

## MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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## THREE NOTES ON THE TEXT OF *BEOWULF*

### 1. *Seldsienne* for *felasinnigne*, 1379a.

At the close of Hrothgar's famous description of the haunted mere, he says to Beowulf (lines 1376b-1379):

Nū is se rād gelang  
eft æt þē ānum. Eard gīt ne const,  
frēne stōwe, ðær þū findan miht  
felasinnigne secg; sēc gif þū dyrr!

So the manuscript; but most editors, to rectify meter and alliteration, omit *fela*, leaving an orthodox line of the type that Sievers called E: *sinnigne secg*. This makes reasonable sense, but is rather flat. The sinfulness of Grendel's mother, who is here vaguely alluded to under a generic masculine form, has been sufficiently emphasized in the poet's own account of her origin, of which Hrothgar is ignorant. His speech has dwelt rather on the mystery that enshrouds the mother and son in the imagination of the countrypeople. The MS *felasinnigne*, though open to the same objection, at least creates a quiver of excitement that brings sinfulness and nameless horror into an interesting connection. Besides, it is hard to believe that a scribe, absorbed in the mechanical task of copying, would be sufficiently aroused to convert an original *sinnigne* into the intensive *felasinnigne*. One sympathizes, therefore, with the effort of two recent scholars to justify the MS. reading.<sup>1</sup> Yet the fact remains that type E, with single alliteration on the second stress (for the *s* of *-sinn-* falls at a structurally subordinate spot) is without support in the remainder of the poem,

<sup>1</sup> Kemp Malone, *Modern Language Review*, xxv (1930), 191; J. Hoops, *Kommentar zum Beowulf* (Heidelberg, 1932), p. 166.

and that the form *felasinnigne*, which is sufficient in itself to fill a half-line of type D, has no parallel as the first foot or measure of type E.<sup>2</sup> Only an unusual propriety of meaning would discourage attempts at improvement.

I believe that *felasinnigne* can hardly be correct, but that it hides the correct form more subtly than the usual emendation suggests. What I propose is *seldsienne*, accusative singular masculine of *seldsiene*, 'seldom to be seen,' 'unfamiliar,' which would acquire connotations of lurking danger and mystery in this context.<sup>3</sup> It would have been easy for a scribe, in the face of this relatively uncommon word, and with the *f*-alliteration of the previous line in his head, to have mistaken *seld-* for *fela-* because of their strong resemblance in Old English script, and so, subconsciously perhaps, to have "corrected" the remainder of the word.

*Seldsienne secg* gives a half-line that is exactly paralleled, even to the extra *s*, by *synsnāðum swealh*, 743a. The meaning is far more appropriate: it supports the aura of mystery in the passage as a whole, and underlines the daring rather than the righteousness of the deed that Hrothgar is requiring of Beowulf.

## 2. *Gēoce* for *gylp*, 2528b.

In Beowulf's last speech before his encounter with the dragon is a passage that seems to have evoked less comment than it deserves. At lines 2527b-2528 Klaeber's edition reads, in accordance with the manuscript,

Ic eom on mōde from,  
þæt ic wið þone gūðflogan gylp ofersitte.

<sup>2</sup> See my digest of this type, *The Rhythm of Beowulf* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942), pp. 314-318. Maldon, 242a, *scyldbūrh tōbrocen*, to which Malone called attention in another connection (*Journal of Engl. and Germ. Phil.*, xxvii (1928), 322), exactly parallels the alliteration, but the poem shows too many minor irregularities to be considered a reliable witness for the style of *Beowulf*.

<sup>3</sup> Bosworth-Toller's Dictionary and Suppl., s. v. *seldsiene*, records the EWS *seldsiene*, nfm., from Ælfred's *Orosius*, the Anglian, here probably Kentish *seldsiene*, nsn., from a fragment of the *Liber Scintillarum* in MS. Cotton Tiberius A. III (Englische Studien, viii [1885], 473), beside the variant *seldsýnde* from a charter. For the etymology see the OED, s. v. *seldseen*, and Holthausen's *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. *seld*. Cf. *gesýne*, *Beow.* 1403 etc. (six times), and *ēþgesýne* 1110, *ŷþgesēne* 1244.



The most plausible translations are represented in the recent revision of Clark Hall by C. L. Wrenn: 'I am eager in spirit, so that I forbear from boasting against the wingèd fighter.' One can barely imagine that Beowulf, who has been talking at great length, is now so impatient for action that he wishes to curtail or altogether renounce the accustomed boast. Yet there are difficulties. The word *from* is extended in an unusual direction, since it ordinarily signifies 'brave' or 'resolute'; it is therefore hard to avoid making the sentence mean that Beowulf is so thoroughly confident in spirit that he has no need to boast. This would be an understandable sentiment for, say, Hotspur, whose natural eloquence is in conflict with a later convention, the code of the silent doer, but it is decidedly out of keeping for so enthusiastic an orator as Beowulf, to whom boasting and deeds of valor are inseparable. What makes matters worse, even for the less jarring interpretation cited above, is the fact that this speech of Beowulf's is actually as much of a boast as anything he has uttered on previous occasions. He is less sure of victory, no doubt, than against Grendel or his mother; but the formulas he uses are almost exactly the same. Furthermore, the remark, however interpreted, interrupts the logical development of the speech. Beowulf has begun by explaining that he is using a sword and protective armor against the dragon rather than mere strength of hand, as against Grendel, because he does not know how else to grapple with this fiery creature in such a manner as to fulfil his boast (*gylpe wiðgripan*, 221a). He is determined not to budge a foot in the encounter, but to let fate and the Lord decide the issue. After this statement, which is quite in the key of his restrained yet uncompromising boasts before earlier battles, comes the sentence under consideration. Whatever qualification it may be thought to make is not sufficiently developed to seem purposeful, for in the next breath Beowulf is telling his companions to keep out of harm's way: it is for him alone to undertake this adventure. He will win the gold or lose his life. Again, as at the beginning, the heroic boast.

A far more logical development of this speech would result if we could substitute *gēoce*, 'aid,' for *gylp* in line 2528b. The sentence would then mean, 'I am resolute in spirit, so that I shall dispense with help against the wingèd fighter.' This is precisely the use of *ofersittan* that Beowulf had made earlier with respect to Grendel,

when he had announced that he would not use a sword against him: the two of them would *secge ofersittan*, 'dispense with the sword' (684a). Above all, this sentence would make the perfect generalization with which to introduce the following instructions to the companions to remain behind on the barrow and await the result—for it is not their battle, nor the proper task for any man save Beowulf alone.

At first sight, it is hard to see how a scribe would be so careless as to substitute *gylp* for *geoce*; but a very simple explanation is available if we allow for two scribal blunders in succession—an easy matter in the admittedly long history of the written poem. Let us suppose that some scribe, with *geoce* before him, made the mistake of setting down a more familiar synonym, *helpe* or *help*.<sup>4</sup> It is commonly agreed that this sort of change has occurred in three other instances: *hand-* for *mund-* in 965a, *hild-* for *lind-* in 1073b, and, this time without any assistance from similarity of appearance, *hilde* for *wiges* in 2298b. If, now, the scribe of a subsequent copy, or a corrector, saw *help(e)* before him and noticed its failure to alliterate, he might easily have taken it upon himself to emend his text to *gylp*.<sup>5</sup> What could be more plausible, or better calculated to blind us to the presence of error?

### 3. The Geatish Woman at Beowulf's Funeral:

#### A Reconstruction of Line 3151.

In 1938 Dr. A. H. Smith published an article, 'The Photography of MSS.,'<sup>6</sup> in which he included four photographs of the

<sup>4</sup> This word, usually feminine, nevertheless appears frequently with the masculine or neuter *-es* in the genitive singular, and occasionally without termination in the accusative singular (see Bosworth-Toller, and Sievers-Brünner, § 252, n. 2). Thus *helpe*, *Beow.* 551, 1552, but *help*, *Daniel* 235.

<sup>5</sup> I have set down the sequence of error in its most abridged form. But since *gylp* is LWS for EWS *gielp*, Anglian or Kentish *gelp* (occasionally EWS *gelp*, see Luick, § 172.4), the most logical sequence, whether it took place in the mind of a single scribe or of several scribes, would be *help(e)*—*gelp*—*gielp*—*gylp*. There is also the possibility of the sequence *hylp(e)*—*gylp*, for the spelling *hylp* is recorded several times in rather late prose texts (see Bosworth-Toller, *Dict.* and *Suppl.*, s. v. *help*). In the *Supplement*, Toller suggests the possibility that *hylp* is an original i-stem (\**hui-pi*). If so, the spelling might have occurred at any time; but evidence is lacking.

<sup>6</sup> *London Mediaeval Studies*, I, 179 ff., Plates III-VI. (Reprinted, 1947.)

last page of the Beowulf MS., the clearest of which was made from the secondary, fluorescent effect of ultraviolet light. On the basis of the ultraviolet photograph I was able to propose some new readings in addition to Dr. Smith's, particularly *geatisc meowle* for *sio geomeowle* at line 3150b.<sup>7</sup> This in itself improves the text greatly, because it removes the possibility that the poet is referring to the otherwise non-existent wife of the hero, and establishes some nameless woman of his people, inspired with foreboding at his death, as the propheticess of national disaster.<sup>8</sup> But I was unable to propose a satisfactory reading for the next half-line, had doubts of Dr. Smith's confirmation of the *b* of *bundenheorde* in line 3151b, and because of the missing half-line could not establish the syntactical sequence that would enable anyone to estimate the value of my minor and rather speculative correction of *sāde geneahhe* to *swiðe geneahhe* in line 3152b. I think I can now, without too bold a conjecture, restore line 3151, and so give effective continuity to the poem at an emotionally crucial point.

In spite of Dr. Smith, I must begin by rejecting the *b* of *bundenheorde* in line 3151b. The ultraviolet photograph shows a dark, detached speck where the upper portion of the ascender of a *b* would occur, but it is at the very tip of a charred remnant of the parchment and could easily be irrelevant. The bow itself, though faint and incomplete, is distinctly wedge-shaped rather than round, so that it would belong more naturally to *thorn* or *wynn* than to *b*. In view of the fading and incompleteness of the bow itself, the absence of a visible descender is not decisive. Some letters on this page have disappeared altogether, some lack this or that member. The same absence of a descender caused Dr. Smith to conjecture *hleō* for the traditional *hlæw* at 3157a, but the spacing favors *æ* as opposed to *e*, and the traces of the next letter will do as well for

<sup>7</sup> *The Rhythm of Beowulf*, pp. 232 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. C. L. Wrenn, in his revision of the Clark Hall translation of *Beowulf* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1950), has very strangely made me half responsible for equating the expression, *Gēatisc mēowle*, with Queen Hygd and thus certifying Beowulf's marriage to her. My own opinion, perhaps not clearly stated originally, has always been just the opposite, for the indefinite *gēatisc* is now substituted for the demonstrative *sio* that had once lent some support to an otherwise implausible notion. *Gēata mēowle*, like *Gēata lōd*, or *ides Scyldinga*, might carry a specific reference even in the absence of a reasonably close antecedent; but *Gēatisc mēowle* ought to mean merely 'a Geatish woman.'

the bow of *wynn* as for *o*. Literary considerations strongly favor *hlaw*, as I have stated before.<sup>9</sup> For purely graphical reasons, therefore, I should guess that the original letter in 3151b had been *thorn* or *wynn*; for literary reasons, *wynn*. This gives *wundenheorde* as the likelier reading, and provides *w*-alliteration for the line. It is a fortunate change, since the *b*-alliteration yields no persuasive combination for 3151a. The *w*, on the other hand, affords one thoroughly satisfactory combination.

As I pointed out in my earlier discussion of the passage,<sup>10</sup> there seem to be traces of two letters, perhaps the second and third, or the third and fourth, of 3151a. I had thought that these letters, the tops of which appear in the ultraviolet photograph above a rift in the parchment that has obliterated everything else, might be *æ* and *d*, but on examining the photograph again, I found that, though *æ* is graphically possible, all that remains is what resembles the upper bow of an *e*. Thus it is proper to include the combination *wed-* among those favored by the surviving traces of letters and the alliterative scheme. Alone, I believe, of such combinations it will yield a word that fits all the requirements. The word is *wēdende*, 'raging' or 'raving' (with grief primarily, and perhaps also a touch of the prophetic frenzy), and would be followed by a verb that is almost an automatic companion of *gyd*: namely, *wræc*. I propose, therefore, to read the entire passage, from 3150 through 3155a, as follows:<sup>11</sup>

swylce giōmorgyd      (Gē)at(isc) mēowle  
(wēdende wræc),      (w)undenheor(de),<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232. But I agree with Dr. Smith that *hœe* is more probable than *liðe* in the same line. For the contrary opinion see Holthausen's eighth ed., p. 126.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233, n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> All departures from the text of Klaeber's third edition not here accounted for are derived from the photograph, either by Dr. Smith or me, and are explained in my previous treatment of the passage, *loc. cit.* Within the round brackets that indicate some degree of uncertainty, letters for which there is good though incomplete graphical evidence are printed in roman type, pure conjectures in italic. For greater precision the photograph must be consulted.

<sup>12</sup> The last two letters rest on the authority of the Thorkelin transcripts. Dr. Smith may well be right in reading *hear-*, but the choice is not quite certain and does not alter the sense.

(song) sorgcearig (swē)ðe<sup>13</sup> geneah(he)  
 þæt hīo hyre (hēofungda)gas hearde ond(rē)de,  
 wælfylla worn, werudes egesan,  
 hȳ[n]ðo (ond) h(æ)f(t)n(ȳ)d.

Where so much is conjectural, I have no wish to lay claim to certainty. Further photographic refinement or some happier guess may yet bring us closer to the original. Yet the proposed reading rests on better evidence than was available to Bugge when he made his traditional reconstruction, and is not, I hope, unworthy of the significant place it occupies at the close of the poem. So reconstructed, the passage has two complementary functions. It stands in contrast, by its violence of emotion, to the ceremonious restraint of the mourning warriors, thus bringing the scene at the pyre to a powerful climax. It also serves as the passionate counterpart of the carefully reasoned predictions of the messenger in lines 2900-3027 concerning the ultimate doom of his nation. There is a touch of the Cassandra in this frenzied creature who takes upon herself the anticipated suffering of all her sex. That she was understood by some early reader to have assumed the role of a sibyl may possibly be indicated by the Latin gloss which stands above *meowle*. The Latin word is *anus*, abbreviated *an'*, as has long been recognized; and those who wrongly conjectured *geomeowle* were glad to take it in its primary sense, 'old woman.' We must now conclude, either that the glossator jumped to conclusions not immediately apparent in the text, or that he had in mind the secondary meaning, 'sibyl,' which the word occasionally acquires in Horace, Ovid, and elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> There is no reason in the text as now reconstructed, unless on general principles, to assume that this *mēowle* was old. Even the notion that she was a matron with hair bound up (*bunden-heorde*) now yields to the common notion of femininity implied in

<sup>13</sup> I have some doubt about this reading, since the old conjecture *swēðe* is graphically just as possible: the second letter is entirely obliterated and the third can be either *l* or *i*. When emended to *sæðe*, as it must be, the old conjecture gives a more conventional sequence: *singan* often takes a direct object and sometimes introduces direct discourse, but I have found no other instance in which it introduces an indirect statement without the mediation of a verb of saying. Still, *swēðe* is frequently combined with *geneahhe* and can stand without emendation.

<sup>14</sup> See Harper's Latin Dictionary, and for additional references, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Leipzig, 1900-1906.



*wundenheorde*. This compound, like the other, is unique; but *wunden* describes women's hair repeatedly in Old English poetry, *bunden* never. Her age does not obtrude itself as in any way significant as against the overwhelming impression of her prophetic anguish.

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### TWEY MYTENES, AS METE

Why does the poor plowman in *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* wear two mittens, "as mete"? In the notes to his edition of 1867, Skeat explained "as mete" to mean "as middling (or poor) as the shoes were,"<sup>1</sup> and in 1887 he explained it as meaning "as tight, scanty, close-fitting as the shoes were."<sup>2</sup> In 1906 he repeated this latter interpretation almost verbatim, except that the mittens were as tight, scanty, and close-fitting as the *hose*,<sup>3</sup> which I suppose to be an error for shoes, since the plowman's hose seem to have been too loose.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the existence of the word *mete* in the sense of small, middling, or moderate,<sup>5</sup> I believe that in this context it has its more usual meaning of "suitable."<sup>6</sup> The mittens were suitable because they conformed to the plowman's social class. Although the social significance of gloves and mittens is not very apparent in Middle English literature, it is quite evident in some Middle High German works, even if no critic has yet called attention to the fact. Such symbolism appeared early in the thirteenth century in a poem by the Austrian poet Neidhart of Reuenthal, a courtly singer of village songs. Once, while competing for a village maid at a country dance, he complained of a rustic rival named Frideprecht, who wore spurs and "pulled on two new gloves up

<sup>1</sup> *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, ed. W. Skeat (London, 1867), *EETS*, xxx, note to v. 428. Also in edition of 1873.

<sup>2</sup> *Specimens of English Literature*, ed. W. Skeat (Oxford, 1887), p. 365.

<sup>3</sup> *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, ed. W. Skeat (Oxford, 1906), p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *His hosen ouerhongen his hokschynes on eueriche a side* (*Ibid.*, v. 426).

<sup>5</sup> Skeat substantiates this interpretation by citing the verse, "There's no room at my side, Marg'ret, My coffin's made so meet." (*Ibid.*, p. 46).

<sup>6</sup> *NED*, vi 2, p. 304, A, 3: suitable, fit, proper.

to his elbow."<sup>7</sup> Toward the end of the same century another Austrian poet, who is generally known as Seifried Helbling, inveighed against the arrogant peasants for trying to rise above their divinely appointed station. Among other things, he claimed that the peasant should not imitate the knight by wearing spurs and bright clothes, and that

für Venedier hantschuoch	it would be better for him to wear
trüeg er hendlinge baz. <sup>8</sup>	mittens than Venetian gloves.

A few years later Hugo of Trimberg, a Bavarian didactic poet, ridiculed a country bumpkin named Ruoprecht, who was not satisfied with his social status. To show the peasant lad's unseemly ambition, he lets a woman say:

Seht, herre, er treit sîn êrstez swert	See, Sir, he is bearing his first
Und hât einen hôhen huot/Und	sword and has a high hat
zwên hantschuoh, daz ist guot. <sup>9</sup>	and two gloves. That is good.

The Swiss poet Heinrich Wittenwiler, who wrote about a century later, also satirized such "high-hat" peasants; so it is not surprising that two gloves (*hentschuoch zwen*)<sup>10</sup> appear as a gift at their wedding. In one of Hans Sachs' plays a peasant girl asks her father to buy her an apron, a blue cloth, a red purse, and two yellow gloves (*zwen gelb hendtschuch*).<sup>11</sup>

It is to be noted that the first five of these passages are clearly satirical and use the gloves along with other conventional symbols of social climbing, such as spurs, swords, hats, and bright clothes. Satire is not apparent in the passage from Hans Sachs, in fact he may not have been aware of the significance of gloves in such contexts. However, although he was usually kinder than most of his contemporaries in his treatment of the peasants, he too received

<sup>7</sup> *Die Lieder Neidharts von Reuenthal*, ed. F. Keinz (Leipzig, 1910), p. 98, v. 59. (*zwêne niuwe hantschuoh er unz ûf den ellenbogen zoch*).

<sup>8</sup> *Seifried Helbling*, ed. J. Seemüller (Halle, 1886), II, p. 69, v. 68. Perhaps this attitude explains why the Stricker let his faithful peasant servant in *Der kluge Knecht* wear *fustelinge* [*Mären von dem Stricker*, ed. G. Rosenhagen (Halle, 1934), *ATB*, xxxv, p. 68, v. 75].

<sup>9</sup> *Der Renner von Hugo von Trimberg*, ed. G. Ehrismann (Stuttgart, 1908 ff.), *BLVS*, cccxlvii, vv. 1578 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Heinrich Wittenwilers Ring*, ed. E. Wiessner (Leipzig, 1931) v. 5517.

<sup>11</sup> *Sämtliche Fastnachtspiele von Hans Sachs*, ed. E. Goetze, Vol. II (Halle, 1881), *NDL*, xxxi, p. 142, v. 27.

his peasant-stereotype from ready-made literary sources, most of which had obvious satiric intent. The same may have been true of the author of *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*: although he was definitely sympathetic toward the plowman, he may have been following some satirical source that he could not comprehend. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the scribes of two of the three extant manuscripts failed to understand the words *as mete*.<sup>12</sup> Possibly the author himself did not understand the word but merely retained it to save the alliteration, for such behavior was not at all unusual among medieval versifiers.

Perhaps there is some significance in the fact that all of these passages use the formula "two gloves," whereas the same authors do not speak of *two shoes*. This may suggest that it is a literary convention, unless people in both Germany and England actually said "two gloves" and never "a pair of gloves" or just "gloves." The formula "two gloves" in satiric literature may have been related to some legal usage, since gloves were customarily mentioned that way in old German legal documents,<sup>13</sup> the exact number being given for legal precision. One of the most widespread Middle High German law codes, the *Mirror of the Saxons*, set the blood-money of day-laborers at one manure fork and two wollen gloves (*tzwêne willene hantschen*).<sup>14</sup> This is clearly social satire, just like the other sarcastic blood-moneys stipulated for low-class persons.<sup>15</sup>

Although English authors did not make this glove symbolism so plain, it does appear that they generally associated mittens with rural life. For example in his *Canterbury Tales*, which appeared a score of years before *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, Chaucer let his corrupt Pardoner offer a mitten to the peasants:

<sup>12</sup> Ms. B renders it *nettes* (over erasure); C renders it *meter* (Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

<sup>13</sup> *zwei handschue; mit zwain handschuohen; zween wisse hantschuwe* [J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (Leipzig, 1899), I, p. 211]; *zween handschuh* (*Ibid.*, I, p. 212); *zween handschuhe* (*Ibid.*, I, p. 524); *dos wantos* (*Ibid.*, I, p. 209); *zwei handschuhe* (*Ibid.*, II, p. 527).

<sup>14</sup> *Sachsenspiegel*, ed. K. Eckhardt (Hannover, 1933), III, 45, 8.

<sup>15</sup> For example, priests' sons and bastards had a blood-money equal to as much hay as two year old oxen can pull. Minstrels could take revenge on the shadow of a man (*Ibid.*, III, 45, 9).

He that his hond wol putte in this miteyn,  
He shal have multiplying of his greyn.<sup>16</sup>

About a generation after *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede*, an English translation of Palladius' treatise on agriculture mentioned "mytens" as being suitable for husbandmen who have to work in the briars.<sup>17</sup> This work did not ridicule mittens, but it did associate them with farm work, which was then despised by all gentle people. The universal contempt for farm work is indicated by the efforts of moralists such as Chaucer, Langland, and the author of *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* to vindicate the honest plowman.

Gloves had enjoyed their social prestige already in classic times, having been worn in Rome as a sign of rank.<sup>18</sup> This tradition lasted into, or was revived in, the Middle Ages; and "during the eighth and ninth centuries they were worn chiefly by persons of noble birth. Hence they were considered a sign of rank and were taken off, as a token of respect, before a superior or in churches."<sup>19</sup> The social status of gloves is particularly evident in the case of pontifical gloves, which are liturgical ornaments peculiar to the higher clergy.<sup>20</sup> Because gloves were associated with noble birth, they became symbolic in many feudal rites, such as doing homage, granting fiefs and charters, and sending and accepting challenges.<sup>21</sup> In courtly love literature they sometimes served as a token of the beloved; so it is no coincidence that a glove appears in the inter-

<sup>16</sup> *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. W. Skeat (Oxford, 1894), iv, p. 302, vv. 373 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Palladius on Husbandrie*, ed. B. Lodge (London, 1873), *EETS*, LII, p. 43, v. 1167.

<sup>18</sup> *The New International Encyclopaedia*, 2nd. edition (New York, 1915), x, p. 49.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (ed. 1944), x, p. 438.

<sup>21</sup> For glove as symbol of royal authority, cf. *ok sal die konig durch recht sinen hantscho dar to senden . . . to bewisene dat it sin wille si* (*Sachsen-spiegel*, II, 26, 4). For a good collection of medieval laws pertaining to gloves, see index to Grimm, *op. cit.*, II, p. 701. Such customs are often echoed in literature; for example, in an old German tale, God orders St. John to give St. Nicholas "*Zwen hantschuch zu der nachsten weich (kermess)*" (*Erzählungen aus altdeutschen Handschriften*, ed. A. von Keller (Stuttgart, 1855), p. 36, v. 30). In Wittenwiler's *Ring* the peasants of Lappenhäusen send a *hantschuoch* when they challenge the peasants of Nissingen to battle (*Ring*, v. 7579).

national story of the vain lady who tests her lover's courage by dropping her glove into the lion pit.<sup>22</sup> Many medieval illustrations show lords and ladies wearing gloves while practicing falconry, a sport restricted by law to people of noble birth. Moreover, to use Veblen's terminology, gloves have long been a favorite means of showing conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure, whereas the mitten, being devised primarily for work and warmth, seldom serves this purpose. Gloves and mittens served as a social barrier until modern times, as we see by the fact that Albert Schweizer, as a child, insisted upon wearing mittens in order to be accepted by the village children instead of being envied as a "gentleman's boy."<sup>23</sup>

In view of the high social standing of the glove, it is not surprising that Helbling advised his peasants to wear mittens, or that our good and docile plowman wore "twey mytenes, as mete."

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### THE BRŪNECG SWORD

The word *brūn* as it appears in Old English poetry ordinarily offers no difficulty, for it denotes the same color as its modern derivative, "brown." *Brūne brerd*, for example, in the well-known riddle on a holy book, refers quite clearly to the creamy brown surface of parchment.<sup>1</sup> When the term is used to describe iron or steel, however, the usual sense seems not to apply. During the underwater battle in *Beowulf*, Grendel's mother fights with a knife *brād ond brūnecg*; <sup>2</sup> later in the same poem, Beowulf's sword is described as *ecg . . . brūn*.<sup>3</sup> Byrhtnoth, the hero in *The Battle of*

<sup>22</sup> For the best known German version of this story, see Schiller's *Der Handschuh* in *The Oxford Book of German Verse*, ed. H. Fiedler (Oxford, 1927), p. 165.

<sup>23</sup> A. Schweizer, *Aus meiner Kindheit und Jugendzeit* (Munich, 1924), p. 9.

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, ed. James W. Bright; rev. and enl. James R. Hulbert (New York: Holt, 1935), p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Beowulf*, ed. Frederick Klaeber (New York: Heath, 1941), l. 1546.

<sup>3</sup> *Beowulf*, ll. 2577-78.



Maldon, wields a similar brown-bladed weapon.<sup>4</sup> In *Beowulf*<sup>5</sup> and in *Judith*,<sup>6</sup> the epithet is also applied to the steel helmets of warriors. How should *brūn* be interpreted in such passages? Literally, can ferrous metals ever be brown? A negative answer to this question has seemed obvious, and, except for Bosworth and Toller,<sup>7</sup> most scholars have assumed that *brūn* here must be intended in some figurative sense long since lost to readers.

The prevailing interpretation has been that *brūn* somehow means "bright," or "shining," or "glistening."<sup>8</sup> Since it refers to swords in use or ready for use, it must apply to surfaces free of corrosion.

<sup>4</sup> *The Battle of Maldon*, ed. E. V. Gordon (London: Methuen, 1937), l. 163.

<sup>5</sup> L. 2615.

<sup>6</sup> *Judith*, ed. Albert S. Cook (Boston: Heath, 1907), l. 318.

Besides these examples from the Old English period, there are many from the literature of the Middle Ages. Cf. *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. Francis J. Child (5 vols.; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1882-98), No. 5, Var. B, l. 22: "And speak up, my bonny brown sword that winna lie"; *Sir Ferumbras*, ed. Sidney J. Herrtage (*EETS*, ES, xxxiv; London: Early English Text Society, 1879), ll. 5609-10: "Wyþ ys swerd of style broun/þe cercle on ys helm he bar adoun þer-wiþ"; *Octavian*, ed. Gregor Sarrazin (Heilbronn: Henninge, 1885), North English version, l. 2024: "Wyth sperys longe and schyldys browne." Especially significant is the fact that Arthur's great sword was actually named "Brownsteel": *Arthur*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (*EETS*, II; London: Early English Text Society, 1864), ll. 95-97: "Arthour was chafed & wexed wrothe./He hente Brounstelle and to Frolo gothe;/Brounstelle was heuy & also kene."

The "brown-bill" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is undoubtedly related to the *brūnecg* sword. Failing to recognize this, recent scholars have been unable to explain convincingly the color of bills. Dr. Johnson may well have seen the connection when he indicated, in his dictionary, the "ancient" origin of the brown bill, but he admitted that he did not know why it should be brown. Cf. *Lear*, IV, vi, 92: "Bring up the brown bills"; *II Henry VI*, IV, x, 13: "But for a sallet, my brain-pan had been cleft with a brown bill"; Samuel Butler, *Hudibras*, ed. Henry G. Bohn (2 vols.; London: Bohn, 1859), III, ii, 541-42: "And brown-bills levy'd in the city/Made bills to pass the Grand Committee."

For further instances of this use of *brūn* in Old and Middle English, see Johannes E. Willms, *Untersuchung über den Gebrauch der Farbenbezeichnungen in der Poesie Altenglunds* (Münster: Krick, 1902), p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. T. N. Toller (Oxford: Clarendon, 1882).

<sup>8</sup> John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1931).

None of the proponents of this view, however, has professed that his conjecture is much more than a guess. The New English Dictionary observes: "In reference to the sword, steel, etc., it seems to have meant: Burnished, glistening." Mead is equally cautious: "When applied to helmets or to the edge of the sword the term *brūn* possibly means bright, glittering, or flashing, with a suggestion of redness."<sup>9</sup> Even Stjerna's comment is not positive: "It is most probable that in the early poetry Ags. *brūn* had no reference to color, but merely indicated metallic lustre."<sup>10</sup> Willms,<sup>11</sup> Klæber,<sup>12</sup> Falk,<sup>13</sup> and Bright<sup>14</sup> accept this definition.

The senses of cognates in languages related to English may seem to afford support for the meaning "shining." In Old High German, *brûn*, though it usually meant "dunkelfarbig," could at times be synonymous with "glänzend";<sup>15</sup> the modern English word "burnish" comes from the French *brunir* (sometimes *burnir* in Old French), which in its primary sense still means *rendre de couleur brune*.<sup>16</sup> But since the citations come from late times, they do not guarantee that the word had the same senses in Old English.

Perhaps the most likely answer to this problem has been missed because it is so simple. If blacksmiths had undertaken to annotate *Beowulf*, they could have assured philologists that *brūn* in descriptions of metal meant "brown," just as it does elsewhere in Old English.

All ferrous metals, from the crudest iron to the finest grades of steel, have certain qualities in common, and among these is their reaction to heat. They are all hardened by one heat process and then tempered by another. The hardening process comes first and

<sup>9</sup> William E. Mead, "Color in Old English Poetry," *PMLA*, xiv (1899), 193.

<sup>10</sup> Knut Stjerna, *Essays on Questions Connected with the Old English Poem of Beowulf*, trans. John R. Clark Hall (Coventry: Viking Club, 1912), p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Willms, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> *Beowulf*, p. 310.

<sup>13</sup> Hjalmar Falk, "Altnordische Waffenskunde," *Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II* (Kristiania, 1914), 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 260.

<sup>15</sup> Oskar Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch* (Halle, 1872-82).

<sup>16</sup> Arsène Darmesteter, Adolphe Hatzfeld, and Antoine Thomas, *Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française* (Paris, [n.d.]).

is very simple. The steel object is held in a flame until it is red-hot and is then plunged quickly into cold water or oil. It will now be too hard and brittle for any practical purpose and will have to be tempered or "drawn" to the state suitable for its intended use. Since steel is only as good as its temper, this second operation must be performed with care. An edged tool, such as a sword, must be softened considerably if it is to sustain a sharp blow without shattering. If it is brought slowly and evenly to a temperature of  $255^{\circ}$  C. and then cooled again suddenly, it will have just the right strength. A temperature of more than  $265^{\circ}$  C. for even a fraction of a second will make it brittle once more, and one any lower than  $230^{\circ}$  C. will render it too soft to hold an edge. The helmet, too, would have to be heated to these temperatures, though nearer the upper limits, for it would have to be just slightly harder than the sword in order to resist its bite and yet not crack.

Like the rural blacksmith of today, however, the ancient armorer had none of the intricate equipment used in modern steel mills to measure the temperatures of metal during heat treatment. As a matter of fact, he never thought of temperatures in terms of degrees on a scale such as Centigrade or Fahrenheit, for Nature had provided a useful substitute. During the tempering process, steel undergoes a series of color changes as its temperature rises. If the surface of the metal is cleansed of all ash and stains, this coloration is plainly visible. The following chart of the Carnegie Steel Bureau of Instruction shows the colors produced at different temperatures:

Pale yellow	220 deg. C.	Pale blue	297 " "
Straw	230 " "	Dark blue	316 " "
Golden yellow	243 " "	Red in the dark	400 " "
Brown	255 " "	Red in indirect	
Brown dappled		sunlight	525 " "
with purple	265 " "	Red in sunlight	580 " "
Purple	277 " "	Dark red	700 " " 17
Bright blue	288 " "		

All small edged tools such as chisels, knives, and axes must be "drawn" at temperatures between  $230^{\circ}$  C. and  $265^{\circ}$  C., or at colors ranging from straw to purple-brown.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> J. M. Camp and C. B. Francis, *The Making and Shaping of Steel* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Steel Co., 1925), p. 692. (U. S. Steel photo, used by permission of Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation.)

<sup>18</sup> See George Ede, *The Management of Steel* (London: Spon, 1901),

Every sword, then, if it was to have a truly fine blade, *had* to be *brūnecg*. Not only was it brown at the time it was forged, but it probably remained brown during the entire period of its use. Why should a warrior as proud of his weapons as the Germanic thane try to remove this hallmark of armorial excellence? Even if he should succeed by hard scouring, he would soon have it to do again, for a piece of steel has to be retempered each time it is worked, and since the smith would have to hammer out dents in a weapon and grind its edges after almost every battle, it must have been tempered, and thus browned, over and over again.

In our romanticized visions of the Old and Middle English periods, swords may always glitter in the sunlight and dazzle the enemy. In reality, they were more often exactly as their owners described them, *brūnecg*.

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#### THE PARLEMENT OF FOULES AND THE PAVO

Source study of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* has in the main tended in two directions. One aspect of the investigation has been concerned with the provenience of the three way contest for the formel eagle's hand and that lady's rather ambiguous reaction. No really satisfactory literary analogues to this situation have been found, and Professor Farnham's contention that Chaucer's inspiration for the tale came not from any of the medieval *Vogelsprachen* but rather from "some folk-tale that he had read or heard"<sup>1</sup> appears very likely indeed. The second aspect has been the source of the court of birds which serves as a background for the love story. Despite Skeat's extended claims for the influence of Alan of Lille's *De planctu naturae*,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that the only ornithological feature Chaucer borrowed from Alan was the catalogue of birds, by

p. 110; Denison Bullens, *Steel and its Heat Treatment* (New York: Wiley, 1916), p. 368; or W. Mattieu Williams, *The Chemistry of Iron and Steel Making* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1890), p. 197.

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Farnham, "The Fowls in Chaucer's *Parlement*," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*, II, 341.

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Skeat, *Minor Poems*, second ed. (London, 1896), p. lxi.

no means the most important part of the convocation described in the *Parlement*. Sypherd thought that Jean de Condé's *La Messe des Oiseaux* "might well have been the original of the scene in the Parliament,"<sup>3</sup> but the similarities he cites are of the most general and inconclusive sort. The various other hypotheses about the source of the court have suffered from the same defects: the resemblances noted have been either too limited or too vague.

A parallel to Chaucer's treatment of the court of birds proper (as distinguished from the story of the formel eagle and her suitors) that suffers from neither of these disabilities is the *Pavo*, a thirteenth century Latin poem by Jordanus of Osnabruck.<sup>4</sup> We shall look in vain for any hint of love interest in this poem, but the many specific similarities of structure, phrase, and meaning between it and the *Parlement* strongly suggest that Chaucer had it in mind when he sat down to write. In the *Pavo* the peacock, having risen to a position of some eminence in the society of birds, convokes a general meeting:

Tandem complacuit prorsus generale gregari  
Consilium, quo possit aves involvere cunctas.

In the *Parlement* Nature had summoned all the birds:

—in hir presence  
To take hir doom and yeve hir audience.<sup>5</sup>

As a preliminary to narrating the business of the meeting, Jordanus, like Chaucer, provides a full catalogue of the birds in attendance.<sup>6</sup> Both authors remark on the resulting din

<sup>3</sup> W. O. Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame* (London, Kegan Paul, 1907), p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Published by F. W. E. Roth, "Mittheilung zur Literatur des Mittelaltens," *Romanische Forschungen*, VI, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Chaucer's use of Nature instead of a bird as his presiding officer is perhaps the major formal difference between the two courts. It is, however, easy to see what could have suggested the substitution. Jordanus' catalogue naturally brought to Chaucer's mind the famous catalogue in Alan of Lille's *De planctu naturae* (see note 6) and this in turn suggested Nature on whose robes the birds described by Alan were depicted. Or Jordanus himself may have had a hand in furnishing the original hint. He too introduced the figure of a personified Nature toward the end of the *Pavo*, though in a very minor capacity.

<sup>6</sup> Chaucer's catalogue is modeled on Alan of Lille's elaborate and erudite



Nec fuit auditus clamor per secula tantus.  
And that so huge a noyse gan they make.

Both catalogues conclude with the author's admission that to describe the scene would be a useless or hopeless task:

Quid recitare iuvat sollempnia temporis huius?  
What shuld I seyn? of foules every kinde—

Both meetings begin with the presiding officer bestowing marks of affection upon a favored bird:

Dum pavo gratulans suscepit ad oscula gallum.  
—Nature hir-self had blisse  
To look on hir and oft hir bek to kisse.

The two meetings are called to order with a suitable display of geniality:

(pavo) blandis sermonibus ipsos  
Alliciens inquit.  
(Nature) in esy voys began to speke and seye.

In both poems the proceedings are thrown into an uproar by a difference of opinion over the matter in hand. Various solutions are proposed and a liberal amount of insult is exchanged:

Conventus volucrum turbatur, nec fuit ulla  
Que non materiam tractande litis haberet.  
Passeris impatiens accusat questio nisum,  
Parsque columbarum turgenti turture falcum  
Dampnat et accipitrem querulans denuntiat anas.  
The goos, the cukkow, and the doke also  
So cryden "kek, kek," "kukkow," "quek, quek," hye

list in the *De planctu naturae* and not on Jordanus', which, though relatively lengthy, is rather more spare and perfunctory:

Ecce columba, palumbus, uterque volando gregatim  
Adveniunt. Neque turtur abest, venit anser et anas,  
Passer omne genus, ultro comparet yruno—.

But this does not lessen the probability that Jordanus' assembly gave Chaucer the idea for the court of birds originally. The *De planctu naturae* was, after all, the *locus classicus* for the catalogue of beasts just as it was for the descending description, and any list of birds would inevitably suggest the one found in Alan's work. Note, however, that Chaucer's birds are present in flocks, like Jordanus', instead of individually, like those on Nature's robe.

That thorgh myn eres the noyse went tho.  
 The goos seyde, "al this nis not worth a flye!  
 But I can shape hereof a remedye."  
 "And I for worm-foul," seyde the fool cuckow,  
 "For I wol of myn own auctoritè,  
 For comune spede, take the charge now."  
 "Ye may abide a while yet, parde!"  
 seyde the turtle, "if hit be your wille  
 A wight may speke, him were as good as stille."

Different birds attempt to seize the floor:

In medium saliens et connitens pica corvum.  
 Tho gan the cuckow put him forth in prees.

Reproaches fly thick and fast, the charge of garrulity being a favorite one:

"Stulta refers, corve."  
 "Now fy, cherl."

"—tua sed tibi lingua cachinnans  
 Garrulitate nocet, siquidem derisio vestra  
 Ingenuas offendit aves."

"Lo, swich hit is to have a tonge loos!  
 Now, parde, fool, yet were hit bet for thee  
 Have hold thy pees, than shewed thy nycete!"

The president of the assembly commands silence:

—pavo  
 voce gravi iubet, ut taceatur.  
 [Nature] with facound voys seide, "Hold your tonges there!"

and makes a proposal that commands the assent of all:

"Ista placent!" voce clamatur ab omnibus una,  
 Nec fuerat, qui non pavonis dicta probaret.  
 Assented were to this conclusioun  
 The briddes alle.

The social allegory that Chaucer seems clearly to have intended by his three-fold division of the fowls may very well have been derived from Jordandus' use of his birds as allegories on specific political figures and social classes. A prose gloss on the *Pavo* explains, in part,

Aquila: Imperator—Falcones: Hispani—Anseres et anas: cives et burgenses—Yrundo: ordines mendicantium—Pica et cetera: Picardi, Normanni, Bretones et alia genera hominiam.

We can see how Jordanus' poem might easily have suggested the use of "game-fowl" to represent the nobility, "water-fowl" to represent the middle classes, and "seed-fowl" to represent the lower classes and poorer clergy. The division is not strictly consistent; the peacock was an obvious choice for the Pope, and *gallus*, of course, had to be *rex gallicorum*. But the poem nevertheless contains an obvious suggestion of the correspondence between the three classes of birds and the three classes of men.

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#### THE "FORGOTTEN" PILGRIMAGE IN *PIERS THE PLOWMAN*

At the beginning of passus seven in the A-text Piers offers to accompany the folk on a pilgrimage to seek Truth. The whole of this passus, however, is taken up with the plowing of the half-acre, which Piers says must be completed before the journey begins. In the opening lines of passus eight, where one might expect the pilgrimage to begin, the whole idea is dropped, giving way to the consideration of a pardon which applies to all who do well.

The abrupt disappearance of this pilgrimage, which looms so large in the sixth passus, has been variously explained. Chambers<sup>1</sup> believed that the search for Truth consisted in the actual plowing of the field. Dunning<sup>2</sup> thought that the pilgrimage to Truth, a spiritual undertaking, was omitted because it was not in line with the author's main concern—the proper use of temporal goods.

Whatever the real reason for the omission<sup>3</sup> there is implied, I

<sup>1</sup> R. W. Chambers, "The Authorship of *Piers Plowman*," *MLR*, v (1910), 13. Others support this view. For example, cf. F. A. R. Carnegy, *The Relations between the Social and Divine Order in . . . Piers the Plowman*. Breslau, 1934, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> T. P. Dunning, *Piers Plowman: An Interpretation of the A-Text*. London, 1937, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> I am not here concerned with the artistic significance of the omission

believe, in these interpretations the idea that the author is in some way at fault for having dismissed the pilgrimage without explanation. Indeed, Dunning says: "The pilgrimage in search of truth, along the way mapped out by Piers in Passus vi., is now apparently forgotten . . ." <sup>4</sup> My contention is that the pilgrimage is not forgotten, and that the author gives a perfectly clear, literal explanation for its dismissal.

To assist the reader in following the argument, I quote <sup>5</sup> the last six lines of passus seven, and the first eight lines of passus eight:

I warne zow, werkmen, wynneþ while ze mowe;  
For Hungir hiderward hastiþ hym faste.  
He shal awake þurh water wastours to chaste;  
Er fyue zer be fulfild, such famyn shal arise,  
þoruȝ floodis and þoruȝ foule wederis, fruytes shuln fayle;  
And so seiþ Satourne, and sente zow to warne.

*Passus octauus de visione*

Treupe herde telle here-of, and to Peris sente  
To take his tem, and tilien þe erþe;  
And purchacede hym a pardoun a *pena et a culpa*,  
For hym and for hise heires, euere more aftir.  
And bad hym holde hym at hom, and eren his laiges;  
And al þat holpen hym to eren or to sowen,  
Or any maner myster þat miȝte Peris helpen,  
Part in þat pardoun þe pope haþ ygrauntid.

The key to an interpretation of the opening lines of passus eight is the word "here-of" in the first line. To what does it refer? Most critics have taken it to refer to passus seven as a whole; that is, that Truth heard tell of the plowing of the half-acre.<sup>6</sup> This may be so. But it seems to me that "here-of" clearly includes the warning in the preceding lines about an impending famine, and

of the pilgrimage. But it seems almost beyond question that Dunning is right in his emphatic rejection ("Meed married to False!" [p. 128]) of Chambers' belief that the search for Truth consisted in the actual plowing of the half-acre.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> The quotation is taken from Thomas A. Knott's critical text of *Piers the Plowman*, A1.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Chambers, *Man's Unconquerable Mind*. London, 1939, p. 117; Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 141; and, more recently, Nevill Coghill, *The Pardon of Piers Plowman* (Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, British Academy), 1945, p. 17.

that Truth, having learned of the forecast, is telling Piers to stay at home and work his land instead of undertaking the pilgrimage. The sense of the first lines of passus eight would then be: "Truth heard tell [of Saturn's warning], and sent [word] to Piers to take his team and till the earth [in order to store up supplies against the coming famine]." Thus Piers is explicitly told to give up the idea of the pilgrimage, and to "holde hym at hom, and eren his laiges." Truth provides him with a pardon for himself and for all the folk who helped him in the plowing of the half-acre. This, it seems to me, is the literal meaning of these lines. Whatever the ultimate decision on the artistic propriety of omitting the pilgrimage, it is clear that our author has not forgotten it.

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THE WANDERER 98: WYRMLĪCUM FĀH

The speaker in the famous Old English poem laments that the only visible monument to his former comrades is a "weal wundrum hēah, wyrmlīcūm fāh." The last words have usually been glossed as "ornamented with serpentine figures," and a question-mark.<sup>1</sup> The serpentine could scarcely have been interior painting, for if the elements had succeeded in demolishing three walls of a well-made building, they could certainly have accounted for its perishable decorations.

Perhaps annotators had in mind designs cut by hand into the wood; but the little evidence on this point tells against the supposition.<sup>2</sup> Nothing comparable has survived; but had ornamental

<sup>1</sup> F. P. Magoun, Jr., and J. A. Walker, *An Old-English Anthology* (Dubuque: Brown, 1950), p. 84; W. J. Sedgefield, *An Anglo-Saxon Verse-Book* (Manchester, 1922), p. 241; Margaret Williams, *Word Hoard* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1940), p. 39; J. R. Hulbert, *Bright's Anglo-Saxon Reader* (New York: Holt, 1935), p. 383, with alternative suggestion, "figure of a dragon?"; so also Marjorie Anderson and Blanche Colton Williams, *Old English Handbook* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1935), p. 501.

<sup>2</sup> The following is the only example I have found even remotely in point: Benedict Biscop's doorway at Monkwearmouth was of stone, but "the



carving appeared frequently on the walls of buildings, poets would probably have noted and mentioned the fact, along with deer-antlers, door-braces, and tapestries.<sup>3</sup> Yet in a literature that deals rather extensively in halls, no one has referred to carving in the interior.<sup>4</sup>

If, then, the Wanderer did not have in mind man-made designs, perhaps he meant his words literally, and called the decorations he saw before him "wormlike" for the best of reasons: that worms had actually produced them. That is, on the outer surface of the timbers, he saw in his imagination the channels and passages cut by engraver beetles and their larvae. These insects operate thus: The adults burrow through the bark (preferably of a sickly, injured, or felled tree), dig a trench about two inches long, and lay eggs in it. The worms quickly hatch and almost at once dig radiating channels of their own, also an inch or two in length. Becoming adults in due time, they tunnel out through the bark. When later this falls off, their old chambers and corridors appear very plainly on the surface of the wood.<sup>5</sup>

pillars that support [the arch] are grooved in imitation of wood turned in a lathe, and the bottom stone of the right doorpost is decorated with twined beaked serpents resembling the kind of decoration that survives in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts"—H. D. Traill, editor, *Social England* (London: Cassell, 1893), I, 198; see also the plate in R. H. Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), I, 349. But the rough stylized turning of the stone is far more heavy-handed than anything in manuscript illuminations, and the serpents lack all the grace common both to their kind and to the curves in old pictures.

<sup>3</sup> *Beowulf*, 995, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bede on Caedmon and the Conversion of Edwin; *The Fight at Finnsburh*; and stories of Hagen and Signy in Germanic literature. No modern authority I have consulted suggests either painting or carving as mural decorations in old halls.

<sup>5</sup> Much of this information I owe to Professor Henry Dietrich and Miss Marjorie Ross of the Department of Entomology of Cornell University. Pictures of "engraved" wood appear in John Henry Comstock's *Introduction to Entomology* (Ithaca: Comstock Press, 1924), p. 543; J. M. Swaine's *Canadian Bark-Beetles* (Ottawa, 1918), numerous plates; or *Cornell Extension Bulletin 437* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1940), by D. S. Welch and D. L. Collins, pp. 11-12. Almost any one can verify how durable and striking the tunnels can be by picking up a piece of driftwood, especially old water-soaked piling; and the designs often remain on fence-posts so old that they have had to be replaced.

Evidence fortunately has survived that Saxon builders put up walls in a manner that would exhibit effectively the depredations of such insects. Perhaps on a stone foundation<sup>6</sup> they set a horizontal sill with holes to receive wooden pins; on this, they put "trunks of oak trees split down the middle, stripped of their bark, and smoothed with the adze on their flat faces. They are placed closely side by side, with their flat faces inward and the half-rounds showing on the exterior," and fastened with pins into the sill below and a lintel above. This is not an imaginary design, but G. Baldwin Brown's description of a Saxon church at Greenstead in Essex, built in 1015 and first repaired, so far as records show, in 1848, when the outer timbers had rotted.<sup>7</sup> Although this particular wall did not happen to be "wundrum hēah," so far as mere construction was concerned, it might have risen to almost any height the builder's fancy dictated; "even in the ninth and tenth centuries we hear of the worm-eaten walls of cathedrals."<sup>8</sup> And churches of the log-type were common in England so late as the Conquest.<sup>9</sup> In this construction, be it noted, the round outer surfaces of the timbers, left without working or smoothing, were set on the outside of the building; hence the designs made by beetles would have remained undisturbed and rather conspicuous.

In summary, no evidence supports the view that the inner wall of a building was elaborately carved, and a good deal indicates that the outer walls might show curving figures which could remind the poet of those on fine swords.<sup>10</sup> His phrase added a realistic touch

<sup>6</sup> In the famous miniature of the good lord dispensing alms to the poor, most accessible in Thomas Wright's *Domestic Manners*, etc. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862), p. 15, the lower part of the building seems to be of tile; but the whole drawing may be in a foreign style, and certainly such halls as figure in *The Wanderer* had disappeared from England by the tenth century, when the drawing was made. But the poet probably refers to the stone base when three lines later he speaks of a "stānhleoþu;" the wall still standing reminds him of a partly rocky cliff.

<sup>7</sup> *The Arts in Early England* (London: Murray, 1925), II, 40. A similar construction is apparent in parts of the column of Marcus Aurelius relating to wars with the Germans: see Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, I, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Traill, I, 197. The injuries referred to here may, however, have been inflicted by other sorts of beetles.

<sup>9</sup> A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p. 106.

<sup>10</sup> *Beowulf*, 1698.

to the description of the most imposing ruin a member of his profession could imagine.<sup>11</sup>

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### CHAUCER'S "PANIK" (*CLERK'S TALE*, 590)

In *The Clerk's Tale* Walter of Saluzzo sends his and Griselda's two children to

. . . Boloigne to his suster deere,  
That thilke tyme of Panik was countessé,

and later in the tale he mentions the "Erl of Panyk" twice. Chaucer got the name from Petrarch (who wrote *Panico*) or a French intermediary; and it derives ultimately from Boccaccio, who wrote *Panago*. Both Boccaccio and Chaucer make it clear that the nobles of this line had at least a semi-permanent establishment in Bologna.

The identification of the family and its name-place has given trouble to all of Chaucer's modern commentators. Tyrwhitt, using a uniquely misspelling manuscript for his text, read "Paue" (Pavia) for "Panik"; and amended the reading in a note without attempting an explanation. Hales abridged the Latin of Petrarch in a side-note: "Walter . . . tells his man to take the child to his sister, the Countess of Pavia. . . ." Some popular editors like John Saunders followed suit and printed "Pavia" without note or query. Skeat made an effort: "I observe in the map the river Panaro flowing between Modena and Bologna; perhaps there is some connection between the names." Hinckley was far colder: "I suspect that in Boccaccio's source it was a French dignitary and that his home was at Boulogne, in France, rather than Bologna, in Italy." Heidrich's often trustworthy catalogue adduces a place where Mallory writes "Paue" and we come back to Tyrwhitt's reading and Pavia

<sup>11</sup> This is not to say that the hall referred to once stood, even in the poet's imagination, in England. Beetles capable of producing the effects noted were widely distributed; indeed the continental associations of one appear all too clearly in its function as carrier of the so-called Dutch elm disease.

again. Sisam merely says that "the place, if it ever existed, has not been identified"; and Robinson's note is an echo of Sisam's.<sup>1</sup>

Actually "Panik" represents a very real place; and for various reasons its Counts were quite famous in the later Middle Ages. The nobles of the line came from a family eminent at least as early as the beginning of the tenth century. The first Count assumed the title around 1050. He called himself a Panico after the name of the family castle, a strategically located keep commanding a ford in the river Reno and a stretch of the Bologna-Pistoia road. Like himself his descendants were warlike and energetic. Since the castle was only eighteen or twenty miles south of Bologna, most of them lived in the city when they were not out fighting in complicated wars. Although they were constantly opposed to the popular and mercantile movements of the time they managed to prosper. A charter of 1221 shows that the lord then functioning possessed, beside Panico proper, fifteen other seats and districts and controlling authority in still others. This was perhaps the high-water mark of their power. The interests of Bologna continued to collide with theirs, and in 1306 an army raised by the civic Commune overcame and leveled their castle. At the end of the century Count Matteo da Panico outraged the citizenry yet again by a number of violent acts. This time severer steps were taken to lessen the strength of the family, and not long afterward it disappeared from history.<sup>2</sup>

From the fact that few (I have found but one)<sup>3</sup> annotators of

<sup>1</sup> T. Tyrwhitt, ed., *Cant. Tales* (London: 1822), II. 216; Hales in Chaucer Soc. *Originals and Analogues*, ser. 2, vol. 7, pt. 2 (London: 1872), p. 161; J. Saunders, ed., *Cant. Tales* (New ed., London: 1889), p. 295; W. W. Skeat, ed., *Comp. Wks.* (Oxford: 1894), v. 347; H. B. Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer* (Northampton, Mass.: 1907), p. 200; K. Heidrich, *Das geographische Weltbild des späteren Mittelalters . . .* (Freiburg: 1915), p. 80; K. Sisam, ed., *The Clerkes Tale* (Oxford: 1923), p. 55; F. N. Robinson, ed., *Comp. Wks.* (New York: 1933), p. 816. I use Robinson's text.

<sup>2</sup> See e. g. A. Hessel, *Geschichte der Stadt Bologna von 1116 bis 1280* (Berlin: 1910); A. Palmieri, *Montagna bolognese nel Medioevo* (Bologna: 1929), both *passim*. Panico and some of its holdings are shown in Spruner's *Hand-Atlas* (3rd ed., rev. Menke, Gotha: 1880), where see especially map 24.

<sup>3</sup> This is Michele Scherillo, ed., *Il Decamerone* (Milano: 1914), an advanced school-text. Scherillo notes under "Panago" (p. 593), "Forse Pànico, ch'è presso alla necropoli di Marzabotto, ed era feudo d'un ramo dei conti Alberti."

the *Decameron* take the trouble to expand the allusion, I must suppose that the Counts of Panico are still known among Italian scholars. One has no way of discovering whether their name was familiar to Chaucer. His travels in Italy and his lifelong interest in commerce make such familiarity quite possible. If the name had been strange to him he might well have stopped to inquire why a count and his family should live in a city not bearing their name, a fairly unusual circumstance in mediaeval history and an almost impossible one in fourteenth-century fiction. In any case, this family, rich, reactionary, warlike, well-connected, and famous, was that which Boccaccio meant with his "Panago" and that which became "Panik" with the English poet.

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#### HENRY LOVELICH'S NAME

H. S. Bennett, in his recent *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, appends to the name of Henry Lovelich a parenthesis reading "or Lonelich," thus announcing the latter to be possibly the correct form of the poet's name.<sup>1</sup> No doubt, the exact name of the most clumsy and tedious poet of the fifteenth century is of small moment, yet it is to Lovelich's two prodigious poems that we must turn for the most nearly complete English versions of the life of Merlin and the story of the Holy Grail.

The correct form of Lovelich's name is Lovelich. This one may assert with confidence even while recognizing that *u* and *n* are quite indistinguishable in the scribal style represented in MS Corpus Christi (Cambridge) 80<sup>2</sup> and that any of the three occurrences of the poet's name in the manuscript, so far as the handwriting can tell us, might be read either as Lovelich or Lonelich.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. S. Bennett, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1947), p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to acknowledge the courtesy of Mr. Bury, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in permitting me to have this manuscript microfilmed.

<sup>3</sup> The name occurs once in *Merlin* [ed. Ernst A. Kock, *EETS*, xciii, cxii, *EETS*, clxxxv (1904, 1913, 1932), v. 10251], once in *The Holy Grail* [ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, *EETS*, xx, xxiv, xxviii, xxx, xcv (1874,

Moreover, one need not accept the Lovelich reading solely on the authority of Henry Bradley who, a half century ago, adopted it upon finding early records of families by the name of Lovelich but none named Lonely.<sup>4</sup> Even Skeat's approval of the form Lovelich in his report of the discovery of Henry Barton the Skinner, possibly a friend of the poet, may be considered inconclusive.<sup>5</sup>

Yet the fact that there is or ever has been any question as to the form of Lovelich's name comes as a surprise to one who has taken the trouble to read *Merlin*. For, in a little autobiographical note occurring toward the end of his vast poem, Lovelich is at pains to give us his true name in a characteristically maladroit but perfectly unambiguous fashion:

Now haue j mad an ende of this talkyng  
here now onlych of Merlynes weddyng.  
but trewly this Feste hit is ryht drye,  
For me lyst wel to drynken, in feye,  
a drawht oper two of the beste wyn  
that the goode lord hath here with-jn.

. . . . .  
3ow preyeth, lordynges, to hauen mynde of this  
Gallina Ciligo Amo Similis.<sup>6</sup>

We do not need the editor's marginal note to tell us that the final line of the above passage is a cryptogram, crude and unsyntactical as it is, nor is it necessary to consult a glossary of mediaeval Latin to interpret the line as *hen rye love like*—that is Henry Lovelich, not Lonelich.

1875, 1877, 1878, 1905), Chapter LVI, v. 533], and once in a marginal note in the hand of the scribe on folio 127 of the manuscript. The marginal note reads: "henre louelich Skynnere pt translated ps boke oute of ffrensche in to englysshe at þe instaunce of harry bartoun."

<sup>4</sup> Henry Bradley, "Henry Lonelich the Skinner," *Athenaeum*, No. 3914 (Nov. 1, 1902), p. 587.

<sup>5</sup> Walter W. Skeat, "The Translator of 'The Graal,'" *Athenaeum*, No. 3917 (Nov. 22, 1902), p. 684. Here Skeat accepts Bradley's reading of Lovelich, but he objects to the suggestion that the marginal note on folio 127 of the manuscript (see footnote 3) reads "skryvener." In his opinion, it is "skynnere," and in a later article ["The Author of 'The Holy Grail,'" *Athenaeum*, No. 3919 (Dec. 6, 1902), p. 758], he reënforces his position by citing documents referring to Henry Barton, Skinner, perhaps the man mentioned in the marginal note.

<sup>6</sup> *Merlin*, ed. cit., vv. 21579-21596.



Had Dr. Ernst Kock been able to complete his excellent edition of *Merlin* by publishing the long-promised volume of notes and commentary,<sup>7</sup> the small point set forth here, as well as many other interesting aspects of Lovelich's unread poem, would perhaps, have been noted by students of mediaeval literature. In particular, Lovelich's *Merlin*, as well as his *Holy Grail*, because each seems to be a fairly close rendering of an existing French work, offers the opportunity as yet unrealized of a close study of the methods and the poetic resources of a man who must have been typical of the last composers of Arthurian romance in England.

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### THE NUMBER OF THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS

Some years ago Carleton Brown wrote:

(1) The number in the Canterbury company as stated by Chaucer in line 24 is twenty-nine, while the actual count of the pilgrims introduced in the Prologue shows thirty persons.

(2) The text of Chaucer's description of the Squire affords unmistakable evidence that it was inserted later, so that *according to his original plan* there would be exactly twenty-nine pilgrims. That Chaucer in adding the figure of the Squire should have neglected to alter his total, will surprise no one who has observed his method in similar cases.<sup>1</sup>

That the character of the squire was a later insertion may be agreed. But that Chaucer neglected to alter his total is debatable if it is shown that the number of pilgrims may really have been twenty-nine including the Squire.

There is some evidence, slight but provocative, to show that the number was twenty-nine. William Blake suggested two solutions, the latter of which he seems to prefer.

The Webbe, or Weaver, and the Tapiser, or Tapestry Weaver, appear to me to be the same person; but this is only an opinion, for full nine and twenty

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<sup>7</sup> In a letter dated April 18, 1949, Dr. Mabel Day, Assistant Director of the Early English Text Society, informed me that Kock never finished his volume of notes and that the society has no plans for completing the work.

<sup>1</sup> "The Squire and the Number of the Canterbury Pilgrims," *MLN*, XLIX, 3 (March, 1934), p. 222.

may signify one more or less. But I dare say that Chaucer wrote "A Webbe Dyer," that is, a Cloth Dyer:

"A Webbe Dyer, and a Tapiser."<sup>2</sup>

Blake's conjectures, while interesting, can hardly be considered as evidence. But Christ Church Ms. 152 indicates the possibility that Blake's second interpretation may be the right one.

Line 362 of the Prologue has been considered to refer to three characters. Christ Church Ms. 152 presents but two characters. The Ms. shows that the line originally read: "A webbe a dyer / a tapicer." However, the scribe crossed out the second "a," and the words the reader is expected to read are: "A webbe dyer / a tapicer."

Since Christ Church Ms. 152 is the only one that has this variation, the weight of evidence seems to be overwhelmingly in favor of the traditional reading. Nevertheless, certain conclusions may be drawn. (1) There is an occupation that may be referred to as that of a "webbe dyer." (2) One scribe appears to consider the term "webbe dyer" as preferable to "webbe a dyer." (3) This scribe evidently copied his source and then thought it proper to correct that source.

Whether the Christ Church scribe was more astute than other scribes may be doubted. But the possibility cannot be ruled out that Chaucer did write *webbe dyer* and that there are exactly twenty-nine pilgrims.

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#### LYDGATE'S *THE ORDER OF FOOLS* IN HARLEY MS 374

In 1934, Henry N. MacCracken edited Lydgate's *The Order of Fools*, a poem of 176 lines in 22 rime royal stanzas, from Laud Misc. MS 683, with variant readings from Laud 638, Cotton Nero A. VI, Brit. Museum Additional MS 34360, and Harley 2251.<sup>1</sup> This

<sup>2</sup> William Blake, *Poetry and Prose* (ed. by Geoffrey Keynes), Nonesuch Press, 1932, pp. 788-89.

<sup>1</sup> *Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, II (Secular Poems), EETS OS No. 192, 447-55. Copies of Lydgate's verse are numerous; and are constantly being discovered under misleading titles and erroneous catalogue ascriptions; cf.

poem is a representative example of medieval "fool" satire which (1) tabulates antisocial behavior and (2) proclaims the practitioners thereof eligible for membership in a fraternity of fools. The anonymous fifteenth century *A Fraternity of Drinkers* in Peniarth MS 53 of the National Library of Wales, which has been independently edited recently by Albert C. Baugh<sup>2</sup> and Rossell H. Robbins,<sup>3</sup> may be compared in the second aspect. Such poems as *A Remembraunce of Fifty-Two Folyes* [of John, Duke of Flanders], which was composed about 1419, may be compared in the first aspect.<sup>4</sup> The "ship of fools" tradition belongs to the later part of the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

When Carleton Brown and Rossell H. Robbins compiled their indispensable *Index to Middle English Verse* in 1943, they were not aware that their entry No. 1135, which they catalogued as an unprinted anonymous poem from Harley MS 374 under the title of what they took to be the incipit (He is a fole eke as Seneke seythe), was a copy of five stanzas of Lydgate's *The Order of Fools* and that their incipit was in actuality line 89 of that poem. Harley MS 374 is a collection of 178 personal letters and miscellaneous manuscript items of a genealogical, antiquarian, and theological character made by that helluo librorum, Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602-1650), whose political journals are well known to students of British seventeenth century parliamentary history.<sup>6</sup> Item No. 17 in Harley MS 374 is

the author's, "Lydgate's The Churl and the Bird, MS Harley 2407, and Elias Ashmole," *MLN*, XLIV (1934), 90-94.

<sup>2</sup> *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 200-207.

<sup>3</sup> *SP*, XLVII (Jan., 1950), 35-41.

<sup>4</sup> *EETS OS* No. 124, pp. 69-72; cf. also *The Thirty-two Follies* (*Rel. Ant.*, 1845, I, 236).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Edwin H. Zeydel (trans.), *The Ship of Fools of Sebastian Brant* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1944), esp. pp. 8-19. Zeydel notes Lydgate's poem, and apparently considers it largely original in method and structure, although, of course, it is built on a fairly simple principle of tabulation; he rules out the possibility of Brant's having any knowledge of *The Order of Fools*.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the handsome editions of D'Ewes' journals of parliamentary activity during the Rebellion and before Pride's Purge of 1649 prepared by Wallace Notestein (New Haven, 1923) and by Willson H. Coates (New Haven, 1942). The great collection of D'Ewes manuscripts now in the British Museum, which are listed in Harley MS 775, were acquired for Sir Robert

a letter (c 1595 ?) from Mr. Henry Ferrers (of Tamworth Castle ?) to the antiquary John Stowe (thanking him for the loan of some books), on the back of which are scribbled the five stanzas. The catalogue of the Harley MSS (I, 218) suggests that they were copied by Stowe, "perhaps out of the Book entituled the Ship of Fooles." This second conjecture is obviously wrong: the stanzas are not by Alexander Barclay; but the first conjecture may be correct: the script is an apparent imitation of fifteenth century cursive.

The five stanzas represent stanzas 6, 10, 12, 13, and 14 of Lydgate's *The Order of Fools* as printed by MacCracken: possibly other stanzas have been lost. Using MacCracken's lineation, I list below the important variants (verbal not orthographic) after MacCracken's readings. These variants suggest that Stowe—if Stowe was the copyist, and was not making "improvements" as he proceeded—was following a redaction unrepresented by the MSS which MacCracken consulted:

43 rook ] Pole. 44 enfomyned ] gangelynge. 48 Devaunt ] A vaunt. 74 flage ] flater. 74 Where ] wither. 76 felt ] felithe. 92 a flool ] a fole also. 93 at nede ] in nede. 100 slombre ] slape. 102 a-cursed ] cursid. 103 for to be ] to be. 105 Halt ] holdynge. 109 Abit ] abydethe. 111 who ] sho so.

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#### GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND OROSIUS. AT THIRD HAND?

Some writers surprise us by an occasional passage of nonsense in the midst of their fundamentally sound work. The character of others is best expressed by saying that they occasionally astound the

Harley in 1705 by Humfrey Wanley, Harley's librarian. There is some doubt as to how much these manuscripts fetched: the article in the *DNB* by Augustus Jessopp states that the final sum was £ 500; but he was not sure if this sum was supposed to cover all the manuscripts which were ultimately delivered to Harley. Jessopp's reference to an article in *Notes & Queries*, 2nd. ser. XI (1861), 181, as an authority for the statement that the sum was £ 6,000 at the start of negotiations, is an evident error; for this article (a reprint of a statement by Oldys about the history of the Harleian collections) says nothing about the sale of the D'Ewes manuscripts.

reader with a startling piece of sense or what looks like sense at first sight. There is no question about the class in which to place Geoffrey of Monmouth. Yet, when Geoffrey startles us with some relatively accurate geographical knowledge, we may try to discover whether he obtained it in a scholarly manner or by slavish copying of some previous writer.

Our author seems to be completely ignorant of the nature of the Eastern Basin of the Mediterranean, thinking, for example it would take thirty days with a favorable wind to cover part (say one half) of its East-West length. Then, but for an obvious bit of tinkering with an unfamiliar word in the spirit that caused the copyists to emend Gallia to Galilaea, Geoffrey shows detailed knowledge of the North African coast.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter he reverts to his native ignorance and mentions no place between the Columns of Hercules and the mouth of the Liger (Loire) in Aquitania, and, after an episode there, again mentions nothing between this and the shore of Britain.<sup>2</sup> This is quite a contrast with the geographical knowledge of his great model Vergil, as evidenced for instance in the description of the coast of Magna Graecia and Sicily in the Third Book of the Aeneid and the journey from the North West of Sicily, not directly to the Tiber but along the Italian coast with mention of prominent features.

There seems quite a possibility that Geoffrey got his little bit of detailed geography from Nennius, an author who was certainly known to Geoffrey's contemporary, Henry of Huntingdon, since Henry took his list of the twenty-eight cities of Britain, probably, and his account of the ancestor of the Scots, certainly, from Nennius. Consequently this author *could* have been available to Geoffrey. Here is Geoffrey's account of Brutus in North Africa. *uenerunt ad aras phylistinorum (sc. Philaenorum) et ad lacum salinarum et nauigauerunt inter russicadam et montes zarec . . . Porro flumen malve transeuntes applicuerunt in mauritaniam . . . Refertis uero nauibus petierunt columnas herculis. . . .* And here is Nennius on a Scythian ancestor of the Scots of Ireland. *At ille per quadraginta et duos annos ambulavit per Affricam; et uenerunt (note change of subject) ad Aras Philistinorum per lacum Salinarum,*

<sup>1</sup> Acton Griscom, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, London etc., Longmans Green and Co., 1929, 237-240.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 240-241 and 248-249.

et venerunt inter Rusicadam et montes Azariae, et venerunt per flumen Malvam, et transierunt per maritima (Mauretanium, Henry of Huntingdon) ad Columnas Herculis, et navigaverunt Tyrrenum mare, et pervenerunt ad Hispaniam. . . .<sup>3</sup> Surely such a correspondence goes beyond the possibility of coincidence.

There has been considerable scepticism about Nennius but as far as one can understand the immensely learned work of Heinrich Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, Zimmer believes that the work we call the *Historia Britonum* is at least substantially the work of one Nennius who lived on the border of Brecknock-Radnor. He composed this work in 796 A. D. using previous writers, among them Gildas, as his authorities. He used an Irish *Lebor Gabala* (*liber occupationis*) which is available in numerous manuscripts but not quite in the same form in which Nennius knew it. One thing this Irish work did was to provide the Scots, and the Gaels in general, with eponymous heroes just as the Brutus story provides for Britain.<sup>4</sup>

The ultimate origin of this apparently detailed knowledge of Africa is clearly the chapter on geography at the beginning of Orosius, *Adversus Paganos*, Book I. Here are to be found (30) . . . Aras Philenorum . . . Lacum Salinarum . . . (31) Russcada Lacum . . . Salinarum . . . a meridie montes (Havercamp, fontes MSS) Uzarae . . . Flumen Malvam.<sup>5</sup> Why then are Nennius and Geoffrey apparently so ignorant of the West Coast of Spain? The reason is that Orosius himself mentions only one point on the West coast of Spain, namely Brigantia Calleciae Civitas with its lofty lighthouse which serves Ad speculam Britanniae (26). Orosius also says little about Aquitania except that on the west it borders on Spain and that the Loire is its (northern) boundary. For the supposition that Geoffrey got his geography from Nennius is the fact that neither of them mention the lighthouse of Brigantia. Against this supposition may be placed the fact that Geoffrey mentions the Loire and Aquitaine but Nennius does not. The author of the *Lebor Gabala* knew about Brigantia since one of his Scythian-Scots built the tower of Brigantia and another later spied Ireland

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Stevenson, *Nennii Historia Britonum*, London, English Historical Society, 1838, 12-13.

<sup>4</sup> Heinrich Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1893, 216-217.

<sup>5</sup> Migne, P. L. xxxi.



from it. So one learns from the Zimmer summary of this work. Perhaps the Irishman had used Orosius. But, if Nennius in turn used the Irishman, why did he not seize on Brigantia which Orosius said was meant to spy out *Britannia*, not *Hibernia*? Of course Nennius could not know this unless he also had Orosius before him.

The preponderance of the evidence seems to show that Geoffrey of Monmouth used Nennius for his small, fairly accurate piece of geography. On the other hand, there is some difficulty in supposing that Nennius got his knowledge directly from Orosius, since, if he had, he would hardly have omitted the tower of Brigantia. Possibly he got it from the *Lebor Gabala* and merely omitted the story of the tall tower of Brigantia as a tall story.

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### JOINVILLE, JOB, AND THE DAY OF WRATH

In the *Credo*, Joinville cites Job for testimony concerning the second coming of Christ and the Day of Wrath.

Cele venue et celle journée avoit bien Job ou cuer; car encore fust-il li plus grans amis que Diex eust à son tens en terre, si dotoit il tant celle journée qu'il dist à Dieu: "Sire, où me responderai je au jor del judgement, que je ne voie l'ire ta face?"<sup>1</sup>

The passage has presented several difficulties, foremost among which is the fact that there is no passage in the book of Job which corresponds to the quotation given here. Natalis de Wailly<sup>2</sup> has identified it with

Quis mihi hoc tribuat, ut in inferno protegas me, et abscondas me, donec pertranseat furor tuus, et constituas mihi tempus, in quo recorderis mei.<sup>3</sup>

To this may be objected that these lines of Job in no way refer to the Last Judgment. Indeed, the only direct reference to this event to be found in the book of Job is:

<sup>1</sup> Joinville: *Histoire de saint Louis, Credo, et Lettre à Louis X*, texte original, accompagné d'une traduction, par M. Natalis de Wailly. Paris. Didot. 1874. p. 434.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> *Job*, XIV, 13.

Seio enim quod Redemptor meus vivit, et in novissimo die de terra surrecturus sum: et rursum circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea videbo Deum meum. Quem visurus sum ego ipse, et oculi mei conspекturi sunt, et non alius: reposita est haec spes mea in sinu meo.<sup>4</sup>

This, far from being an expression of fear, is one of confidence and optimism. The only other possible reference to the wrath of God is no more applicable to the text.<sup>5</sup>

As a consequence, Lozinski has concluded that this portion of the *Credo* must be placed among the *attributions erronées ou . . . citations inexactes*. He suggests that the author has become confused with the famous lines of the CXXXVIII Psalm: *Quo ibo a spiritu tuo? et quo a facie tua fugiam?* None of the commentaries of Gregory the Great give him a more positive lead, although he finds that the commentary of Augustine in the *Adnotationes in Job* <sup>6</sup> "nous rapproche du texte de Joinville."<sup>7</sup>

On the contrary, it takes us quite a distance away from it.

There was reproduced, in 1909, a series of outline drawings, seemingly the project for a mural decoration, taken undeniably from the *Credo* of Joinville.<sup>8</sup> One of these sketches <sup>9</sup> is the illustration for the passage in question, and shows Job bearing a phylactery, on which is inscribed: *Domine: quando: ven: judica:* This Latin inscription also does not come from the book of Job, but, as recognized by the authors, is the beginning of the 3rd Response of the 1st Nocturn of the Office of the Dead, in the Roman

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 25-27.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 21-25. Oculi enim ejus super vias hominum, et omnes gressus eorum considerat. Non sunt tenebrae et non est umbra mortis, ut abscondantur ibi qui operantur iniquitatem. Neque enim ultra in hominis potestate est, ut veniat ad Deum in judicium. Conteret multos innumerabiles, et stare faciet alios pro eis. Novit enim opera eorum: et ideo inducet noctem, et conterentur.

<sup>6</sup> Idecirco a facie ejus turbabor. Modo turbabor, ut caveam cogitans futurum judicium, ubi erit ejus manifestatio. Migne: *Patrologia latina*, XXXIV, col. 849.

<sup>7</sup> Lozinski: "Recherches sur les Sources du *Credo* de Joinville," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XXXI, 1930. Appendix IV, pp. 208-210, is devoted to this discussion.

<sup>8</sup> Delaborde and Lauer: "Un projet de décoration murale inspiré du *Credo* de Joinville," *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XVI. Paris. 1909. pp. 61-84.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, Plate VIII, showing Leaf 231, Register II of the MS.

Breviary. *Domine, quando veneris judicare*.<sup>10</sup> The preceding lesson in the Breviary is Job x.<sup>11</sup> Whether or not this Response occupied precisely this position in the liturgy of the 13th century is doubtful. The *Psalter and Hours* of Isabelle of France, companionpiece to the *Psalter* of saint Louis, lists it as the Response to the 5th Lesson,<sup>12</sup> as does a Breviary of the 13th century at Harvard University.<sup>13</sup> In all cases, however, the Lessons for the Office of the Dead are taken from Job.

The French text of Joinville: *Sire, où me responderai je au jour del jugement, que je ne voie l'ire ta face*, is the continuation of the above Response: *Domine, quando veneris judicare terram, ubi me abscondam a vultu irae tuae*. He has falsely ascribed the Response to the author of the Lesson, and it would appear that the phrase: *car encore fust-il li plus grans amis que Diex eust à son tens en terre, si dotoit il tant celle journée* is an elaborative explanation of the remainder of the Response: *Quia peccavi nimis in vita mea*.

This particular instance offers no support for those who contend that the articles of the *Credo* must have been supplied Joinville by a learned clerk, and that consequently their sources are to be found in literary history. The source in this case is liturgical, and it may be questioned whether a clerk would have made such an attribution.

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<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> Manus tuae fecerunt me, et plasmaverunt me totum in circuitu: et sic repente praecipitas me? Memento, quaeso, quod sicut lutum feceris me, et in pulverem reduces me. Nonne sicut lac mulsisti me, et sicut caseum me coagulasti? Pelle et carnibus vestisti me: ossibus et nervis compegisti me. Vitam et misericordiam tribuisti mihi, et visitatio tua custodivit spiritum meum.

<sup>12</sup> A *Psalter and Hours* executed before 1270 for a lady connected with saint Louis, probably his sister, Isabelle of France. Emery Walker. London. 1905. p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> MS Riant 9. The preceding Lesson is: Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis, etc. Job, XIV, 1-6.

## EIGHTEEN PERSONAL PRONOUNS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

In documents of the fifteenth century occur sixteen pronominal forms not listed by the *NED* for any period.

*The Book of Margery Kempe*,<sup>1</sup> 1436-38, supplies three slightly varying examples of the first person plural genitive: *ower*, p. 1, l. 4: "... ower souereyn Sauyour Cryst Ihesu . . ."; *owir*, p. 82, l. 21: "... to owir Lady . . ."; and *owyr*, p. 2, l. 7: "... the hand of owyr Lord . . ." This same work contains the third person plural genitive form, *heer* p. 242, l. 10: "... sche hauyng knowyng of heer purpos . . . left." The antecedent of *heer* is *pilgrims*.

In *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*,<sup>2</sup> c. 1430, appears a third person singular masculine genitive pronoun, *hees*, p. 3, l. 49: "He made hees weyes vn-to Moyses." See also p. 6, l. 164.

*Morte Arthure*, c. 1400, provides the third person singular feminine nominative, *cho*, l. 3251 (a "duches" is described): "A-bowte cho whirrlide a whele." See also ll. 715 and 720. In *Morte Arthure* are also two third person plural genitives, *thiere*, l. 160: "... thiere horses . . ."; and *thire*, l. 19: "Bathe ware in thire werkes."

Feminine third person singular genitive pronouns form the next three examples. Mirk's *Festial*,<sup>4</sup> c. 1450, has *hor*, p. 15, l. 14: "... for hor fadyr holynes, for hor modyr goodnes. . . ." See also p. 16, l. 19. Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests*,<sup>5</sup> c. 1420, gives *heyre*, l. 490: "To tuynen and open at heyre byddyng . . ." *Early Kentish Wills*,<sup>6</sup> has *heere*, p. 381, l. 16: a bequest to a certain Alice "for terme of heere lyf."

Three further citations are for third person plural genitives. *The Paston Letters*,<sup>7</sup> 1443, *herr*, p. 48, l. 29: "... and fader & emme . . . pleyn hem her with herr hawkys." *Ordinances of Exeter Tailor's Guild*,<sup>8</sup> 1466, *theere*, p. 325, l. 17: "... the maister and wardons

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Sanford Meech, *EETS*, OS, CCXII (1940).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, *EETS*, ES, CVII (1911 for 1910).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. George C. Perry, *EETS*, OS, VIII (1865).

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Theodor Erbe, *EETS*, ES, XCVI (1905).

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Edward Peacock, *EETS*, OS, XXXI (1868).

<sup>6</sup> Ed. James Greenstreet, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XI (1877), 370-387.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. 1, ed. James Gairdner (Westminster, Archibald Constable and Co., 1900).

<sup>8</sup> Ed. J. Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, *EETS*, OS, XL (1870).

of the fraternite of Tailors of Seint John de Baptist in the Citee of Exceter, and theere successours." *York Plays*,<sup>9</sup> c. 1440, *pire*, p. 11, l. 44: "Dire dedis er dewly dyght."

Third person plural dative-accusative *heme* is found in two works: *The Paston Letters*,<sup>7</sup> 1448, p. 74, l. 32: "... a nold debate that was be twene heme . . ."; *Parthenope of Blois*,<sup>10</sup> late 15th c., l. 3736: "Off heme alle ther was nott one." *The Fifty Earliest English Wills*,<sup>11</sup> 1442-67, has third person plural accusative *hame*, p. 27, l. 15: "... executors . . . amonge hame."

*Thir*, third person plural genitive, is listed by the *NED* ("used by Milton as unstressed form of *their*"), but cited only for 1671, *Paradise Regained*, II. 235: "He ceas'd and heard thir grant in loud acclaim." This pronoun appears in at least two documents of the fifteenth century. In records dated 1429, *The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls and Law Proceedings of the Priory of Coldingham*,<sup>12</sup> the prior and Thomas Atkynson certify to "Thir indentres made att Duresme . . . (p. 104, l. 1)." The same pronoun is also employed in 1495, *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1365-1917*,<sup>13</sup> p. 19, l. 11.

A more unaccountable misdating by the *NED* is its latest citation for *hes*, third person singular masculine genitive, as *Cursor Mundi* 12685 (Cott.), a. 1300: "Hes knes war bolnd sua."

This form of the pronoun can, however, be found far into the fifteenth century: *Rotuli Parliamentorum* V,<sup>14</sup> 1439-68, p. 15, col. a; *The Paston Letters*,<sup>7</sup> 1450, p. 125, l. 27; *Early Kentish Wills*,<sup>6</sup> 1460, p. 375, l. 4; *Ordinances of Exeter Tailor's Guild*,<sup>15</sup> 1466, p. 314, l. 23; and *The Cely Papers*,<sup>16</sup> 1475-88, p. 82, l. 29: "Botrell hase be uncurtese in hes dedis."

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<sup>9</sup> *The Plays Performed by the Crafts or Mysteries of York . . .* ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885).

<sup>10</sup> Ed. A. T. Böttker, *EETS*, ES, CIX (1911).

<sup>11</sup> Ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, *EETS*, OS, LXXVIII (1882).

<sup>12</sup> Ed. James Raine, *Publications of the Surtees Society*, XII (1841). See also p. 120, l. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. Maud Sellers, *Publications of the Surtees Society*, CXXIX (1917).

<sup>14</sup> Ed. J. Strachey (London, 1767-1777).

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*; see also 314/20, 314/22.

<sup>16</sup> Ed. Henry Elliott Malden, *Camden Society Publications*, Third Series, No. 1 (1900). See also 83/2.

MADAME D'AULNOY ON THE *LETTRES PORTUGAISES*

The name of the fictitious Portuguese nun Mariana was attached by scholars to the famous *Lettres Portugaises* on the basis of a single manuscript note of somewhat doubtful authenticity; and we have very little detailed information as to what was commonly believed concerning their origin when they first appeared.<sup>1</sup> There is, however, a further piece of evidence that the forsaken Mariana may have become the subject of a legend in late seventeenth-century France.

In 1695 the popular and prolific novelist Madame d'Aulnoy published *Mémoires de la Cour d'Angleterre*, a pseudo-authentic chronicle of amorous intrigues at the court of Charles II.<sup>2</sup> In the second volume of this novel the Duke of Buckingham hears that a fair Portuguese, Donna Maria de Balboza, has arrived in England. Buckingham at once forms designs on her, and wants to see some of her letters to discover whether she has *esprit*. He secures a series of rules on letter-writing which she has composed; but they are thoroughly conventional, and Buckingham expresses his disappointment.

Il me paroissoit fort inutile pour la satisfaction de mon coeur. . . . Ne vaudroit-il pas mieux qu'elle s'occupast à écrire comme cette Fille de son Pays, que l'on nomme, ce me semble Marianne, dont nous avons lû les Lettres[?] <sup>3</sup>

The Earl of Argyle later remarks that Marianne had been in love with a Frenchman named the Marquis de Chamilly.<sup>4</sup> Thus Madame d'Aulnoy, writing over twenty years after the first appearance of the *Lettres*, was familiar with a tradition that the nun who wrote the letters on being forsaken by Chamilly was named Marianne. She might have seen the name of Chamilly in print,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the history of the *Lettres*, see Frederick C. Green, "Who Was the Author of the 'Lettres Portugaises'?", *MLR*, xxi (1926), 159-167.

<sup>2</sup> Published at Paris (2 vols., 12mo) by Claude Barbin. It reappeared at The Hague, 1695; Paris, 1726; Amsterdam, 1727; and in an English translation, *Memoirs of the Court of England*, at London in 1695, 1707, and 1710.

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires de la Cour d'Angleterre* (2 vols., Paris, 1695), II, 42-43. Subsequent citations are from this edition.

<sup>4</sup> *Mémoires*, II, 44.

<sup>5</sup> An edition of 1669, "A Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau," stated in its



but in the absence of other evidence we may assume that the apocryphal Nun of the nineteenth-century scholars had had a lively existence over one hundred years earlier.<sup>6</sup>

Evidence of contemporary opinion on the literary merits of the *Lettres* (as distinguished from mere mention) is scanty;<sup>7</sup> but it has often been maintained that they met with an enthusiastic and uncritical reception as models of sincerity and passionate expression.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, while Madame d'Aulnoy's Buckingham finds the Nun's letters touching and indeed fit to make one "fol à courir les champs,"<sup>9</sup> the Earl of Argyle disagrees.

Cette Marianne dont vous estimez tant les Lettres, avoit poussé sa passion jusqu'à l'extravagance . . . elle s'en croyoit abandonnée, le désespoir se joignit à son amour, & luy renversa la cervelle. Pour penser ce qu'elle pense, pour dire ce qu'elle dit: il faut sortir du bon sens, il faut aimer jusqu'à la fureur: c'est une espece d'entousiasme; & si je voyois une fille capable de s'exprimer en des termes si emportez, je ne sçay point trop ce que j'en croirois.

Vous croiriez repris-je [Buckingham] en sôûriant, qu'[l]elle aime avec excès: Sans doute, continua-t'il, & qu'il entreroit dans son attachement plus de temperamment que de choix. Je vous assure aussi, que j'aimerois mieux une Maitresse douce, modeste & retenuë, qu'une qui seroit si pressante, si vive, & si habile.<sup>10</sup>

This level-headed condemnation is all the more curious since the author herself presently inserts a number of frantic "Portugaise" epistles, one of which causes Buckingham to cry, "Bon Dieu! quelle Lettre . . . que de délicatesse, que de passion!"<sup>11</sup>

These opposite views are probably not irreconcilable. Buckingham is characterized throughout the novel as hotheaded and

preface that the letters were written to the *Chevalier* de Chamilly. See Green, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup> It has been plausibly argued that the *Lettres* were fabricated upon a framework composed of some actual letters brought back from Portugal. Literary gossip could have done the rest. See Antonio Gonçalves Rodrigues, *Mariana Alcoforado: História e crítica de uma fraude literária* (Coimbra, 1943), pp. 67-69.

<sup>7</sup> It is reproduced in P. and J. Larat, "Les 'Lettres d'une Religieuse Portugaise,' et la Sensibilité Française," *RLC*, VIII (1928), 619-639.

<sup>8</sup> For a typical example of the many enthusiastic comments on the revolutionary effect of the *Lettres* upon the European public, see Edmund Gosse, "A Nun's Love Letters," *Fortnightly Review*, XLIX (1888), 506-517.

<sup>9</sup> *Mémoires*, II, 43.

<sup>10</sup> *Mémoires*, II, 44-45.

<sup>11</sup> *Mémoires*, II, 88. These letters are in a "novel" by Donna Maria (pp. 55-86); the one to which Buckingham refers is on pp. 78-82.

passionately amorous, and thus apt to approve of the vehement *Lettres*. Moreover, the letters in the novel do not subordinate logic and clarity to exclamatory vehemence in the manner of the Nun. It is likely that Madame d'Aulnoy (and doubtless many of her contemporaries) regarded the *Lettres* as indeed remarkable, but rather as the bizarre products of mental aberration and "entousiasme" than as new and revolutionary models of sincerity.

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#### CLOUGH AND ARNOLD

In *PMLA* for December 1951 Professor D. A. Robertson makes the very attractive suggestion that Clough's 'Say not the struggle naught availeth' is in some sense an answer to Arnold's 'Dover Beach'; but the suggestion, as he admits, runs into two difficulties, viz., that the family tradition has always associated 'Dover Beach' with Mrs Arnold, and that the dates seem not to be right. Family tradition is of course a slender reed for argument; it has some slight corroboration however in the fact that when first published 'Dover Beach' followed immediately after 'Calais Sands,' and explicit corroboration in Sir E. K. Chambers' flat statement: "*Dover Beach* and *Calais Sands* are both related to *Faded Leaves*" (p. 59). Moreover, the fact that a draft of the first 28 lines of 'Dover Beach' was written on the back of Arnold's notes for 'Empedocles' proves very little;<sup>1</sup> and Tinker and Lowry were properly cautious in admitting merely that "it is tempting to conjecture" a date hardly later than 1850, and "at least suggests the possibility that it was written as early as 1850" (*T. L. S.*, 1935). This conjecture indeed, even in such guarded language, is omitted from their *Commentary* of 1940. Furthermore, 'Dover Beach' has something in common with 'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse,' which was begun in 1851 when Arnold visited the Grande

<sup>1</sup> In November 1867 Arnold wrote to Henry Dunn that 'Empedocles' "was composed fifteen years ago." This, if taken literally, would mean 1852, and may signify merely the year of publication. Yet although Arnold probably began his note taking for 'Empedocles' with Karsten in 1849, there is no reason why his working papers should not be at hand until the whole poem was finished.

Chartreuse in September on his wedding journey: the contrast of a Greek (who could not of course have been Sophocles) and a modern in their loss of faith. Either passage might have suggested the other, but it is more likely that Arnold used the same idea in both poems, in different form, because it was present in his mind at that time.

"I feel sure," says Professor Robertson, that Arnold "would never have been impelled to address a plea of loyalty to his *wife*." He might have added: *especially to his bride*. But that feeling, creditable both to Arnold and to Professor Robertson, is scarcely an argument. On the other hand, if one assume that the picture of Dover Beach in the moonlight represents their stay at Dover on their wedding trip in June 1851—"Come to the window" is a rather circumstantial detail which need not be taken too literally, but it almost precludes the presence of Marguerite—there would be a special poignancy in the appeal "let us be true To one another" in the face of all the world's hostile forces—

the world which seems  
To lie before us . . .  
So various, so beautiful, so new.

Arnold's general discontent, fully exhibited in his letters to Clough through the 1840s and his emphasis on it in the 'Stanzas' would both account for the pessimistic tone of 'Dover Beach' and would set off by contrast the immediate search for comfort and consolation in his recent marriage.

I would not contend that all this proves a date of 1851 for the composition of 'Dover Beach,' but only that it seriously weakens the contention that the poem may have been written before October 1849, when Clough sent a copy of *his* poem to Allingham. One still hopes that the dates may be reconciled somehow—possibly by supposing that the last nine lines of 'Dover Beach' "were already in existence when the portion regarding the ebb and flow of the sea at Dover was composed" (Tinker and Lowry, pp. 174 f.); that is, early in 1849 and had been shown then to Clough. This would account for the first two stanzas of Clough's poem as an answer to Arnold's fragment, and the other two stanzas with the sea metaphor would be a coincidence. Or it may all be a curious and interesting coincidence.

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## FURTHER NOTES ON HOUSMAN'S USE OF THE BIBLE

Although most of the reminiscences of the Bible in A. E. Housman<sup>1</sup> have little or no connection with the contexts of their sources, a few are so related in ingenious ways. Sometimes there is a fair correspondence between the theme of a poem and the source of particular lines, e. g., *Last Poems* v, where the dying words of the grenadier in lines 17-20 are adapted from *Ecclesiastes* 9.10. Concurrence in Biblical sentiment, however, is not the rule. In *More Poems* xxviii Housman adapts the regretful "Verily I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency" (*Psalms* 73. 13); but whereas the psalmist reproaches himself for envying the prosperity of the wicked and declares, in the final verse, "I have put my trust in the Lord God, that I may declare all thy works," the poet permits his guilty protagonist no such relief. This technique of omission is more subtly employed in *A Shropshire Lad* xii. 5-8. Upon reading the stanza

If the hearts of hate and lust  
In the house of flesh are strong,  
Let me mind the house of dust  
Where my sojourn shall be long

one may at first feel that it is a restatement of *Ecclesiastes* 9. 8: "If a man live many years, and rejoice in them all; yet let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many." Yet the burden of the chapter is God's power and man's responsibility, as emphasized in the concluding words of the next verse, "But know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment." This is what Housman leaves out. For him there is little cause for rejoicing and the oblivion of the grave is the only hope. Perhaps his last lines, "And the bridegroom all night through / Never turns him to the bride," allude ironically to the nuptial imagery of the New Testament, in which Christ is represented as the bridegroom of the soul.

<sup>1</sup> Professor G. B. A. Fletcher's first listing of Housman's Biblical echoes is included in Grant Richards' *Housman 1879-1936* (New York, 1942), Appendix III, pp. 399-400. His later additions may be found in "A. E. Housman's 'Borrowings,'" *TLS* xli (April 18, 1942), 199, and "Reminiscences in Housman," *RES* lxxxiii (July, 1945), 244-245.

In several other poems Housman's use of Hebrew or Christian phrases of affirmation to achieve ironic negation is clearly evident. The Shropshire lad, musing on the notion that both he and the Grecian statue upon which he is gazing are unhappy exiles in London, learns from the statue a lesson in endurance:

'Courage, lad, 'tis not for long:  
Stand, quit you like stone, be strong.' (ASL li. 21-22)

Here St. Paul's fervent "Stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong" (I *Corinthians* 16. 13) is reduced to little more than a counsel of despair—faith is out of the question and man aspires to be no more than indifferent stone. Or consider Housman's cynical endorsement of Jesus' admonition to sever from oneself the offending eye or hand or foot (*Matthew* 5. 29-30; 18. 8-9; *Mark* 9. 43-47). Afted using the very words of Jesus, he presses the argument to a blasphemous conclusion: "But play the man, stand up and end you, / When your sickness is your soul" (ASL xlv). This kind of contradiction is central to another poem (MP xxii), in which its operation has already been ably discussed.<sup>2</sup> The effectiveness of such deliberate use of Biblical diction is relative to the worth of the poem as a whole. Of these last two, the terseness of the first is in its favor, but in both there is something sophomoric about Housman's apparent determination to distort zealous precepts and discredit pious attitudes.

Logically enough, for his ablest handling of Biblical suggestion one turns to one of Housman's very best poems, the "Epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries" (LP, xxxvii):

These, in the day when heaven was falling,  
The hour when earth's foundations fled,  
Followed their mercenary calling  
And took their wages and are dead.  
  
Their shoulders held the sky suspended;  
They stood, and earth's foundations stay;  
What God abandoned, these defended,  
And saved the sum of things for pay.

<sup>2</sup> By Davis P. Harding in "Housman's Use of the Bible," *MLN* Lxv (March, 1950), 205-207. See also Charles E. Mounts, "Housman's Twisting of Scripture," *MLN* Lxi (March, 1946), 186. To Harding's remarks I would add the suggestion that in lines 7 and 8, "And pull the flower in season / Before desire shall fail," Housman is making ironic use of "To everything there is a season . . . a time to pluck up that which is planted" (*Ecclesiastes* 3. 1, 2).

The virtues of this poem, apparent at once, have been enthusiastically appraised by Louis Gillet, who mentions, but does not linger on, "les metaphores bibliques, le ciel qui tombe, la terre qui se disloque."<sup>3</sup> It is much more than, in Cyril Connolly's mistaken phrase, a "bombastic epigram . . . with [an] adolescent anti-God jibe."<sup>4</sup> God, to be sure, is found wanting; but the soldiers are so transfigured that there is no room for bitterness. And in this transfiguration the Biblical note is struck more sensitively than in any other Housman poem. There is no direct quotation of a whole verse or even of an unmistakable phrase, but "earth's foundations"<sup>5</sup> immediately suggests its source in the praise of the Lord "Who laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed forever" (*Psalms* 104.5), or more significantly, in the Lord's wrathful retort to Job, "Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?" (38.4). Thus there is an ironic reversal of the situation: God, not man, is called in question; man has maintained God's creation. Here again Housman is denying orthodox claims, but this time he is not tediously obvious. The poem has almost the quality of a hymn. It is written in a meter common to Church of England hymns, and in addition to the Biblical metaphors there is, in the perfect balance of the first two lines with the fifth and sixth, a kind of Old Testament parallelism which complements the striking antithesis in others.

For the most part, whenever Housman uses the diction of the Bible directly or by suggestion, he uses it as one would expect him to: he rejects religion and emphasizes the misery of the human lot. But in the "Epitaph," which reaches a high level of excellence without compromising his fundamental anti-religious position, Housman makes such diction contribute powerfully to an expression of pride in the nobility of man.

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<sup>3</sup> *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 1, 1937. Quoted by Richards, pp. 358-359.

<sup>4</sup> *The New Statesman*, May 23, 1936. Quoted by Richards, p. 366.

<sup>5</sup> Housman uses this phrase or refers to the falling sky in several other poems (*ASL* xlix. 6; *MP* xxvi 6-7; xlviii. 5-9; *Additional Poems* xiv. 3, 7) but never with comparable effectiveness. Fletcher records J. B. Leishman's suggestion that it "may be due to a memory of the sound of Shakespeare's 'Foundations fly the wretched' (*Cymbeline*, III, vi, 7)." *RES* lxxxi (July, 1945), 245.



## HOW "POETIC" IS A. E. HOUSMAN'S POETRY?

The language of A. E. Housman's poetry is remarkably middle-of-the-road. The Latinisms and zeugmatic figures that might have clogged the pen of the classicist, turned poet, we seldom hear on the lips of the Shropshire Lad.

On the other hand, Housman made very sparing use of localisms, —provincial and dialectal terms. Equally strict was his use of decorative language, of words that the N. E. D. would designate as obsolete, archaic, rare, or poetic.

Having read and made copies of all pages that survive from Housman's four poetry Notebooks, I conclude that curbing his fondness for extravagant language was for him one of the larger concerns of composition and revision. True, more than one-half of the bulk of the Notebooks has been destroyed, but in the remainder it is evident that the early drafts show a much larger proportion of "poetic" diction than appears in Housman's published work. This evidence may be taken to indicate that this coloration would have been even stronger in the lost sections of the Notebooks, which we know contained for the most part first drafts and other experimental verse.

In the two lists below (from the published poems and the Notebooks) all but a few of the words are marked simply *Obs.*, *Arch.*, *Dial.*, *Rare*, or *Poetic* according to their designations in the N. E. D. If the designation is in brackets, it means that the N. E. D. does not actually specify the sign but from the discussion and examples it is evident that the word is allied to the given category. Though I have tried for completeness in this word-count, it is possible that some eligible terms have escaped me, and I would be glad for additions from readers.

I. In Housman's *Shropshire Lad*, *Last Poems*,  
*More Poems*, *Additional Poems*.

[Africk] *LP* XIX, 14. Not in the N. E. D., but generally *Arch.* and *Poetic*.

behoved *MP* II, 12. [*Archaic*.]

frore *SL* XLVI, 16. *Poetic*.

holt ("woodland") *SL* XXXI, 5. *Poetic* and *Dial.*

Ind ("India") *LP* XIX, 14. *Arch.* and *Poetic*.

kesar *LP* VIII, 12, 14. *Obs.*

oakenshaws *LP* xxv, 2. *Arch.* and *Poetic*.  
 prime ("period of youth") *LP* xxiv, 37. "Now *rare*."—N. E. D.  
 quick ("living") *SL* lxi, 12. *Dial.* or *Arch.*  
 reave ("deprive") *AP* xvii, 3. [*Rare*.]  
 station *MP* xx, 5. "... opposed to *motion*, now *rare*."—N. E. D.  
 straws ("strews") *SL* iv, 8. *Obs.*  
 thorough ("through") *SL* xvii, 1 (quoted in N. E. D.); *AP* xxi, 3.  
*Poetic* or *Arch.*  
 weald *SL* xlii, 36. *Poetic*.  
 wold *SL* xlii, 2. "... since 1600 in vague *poetical* use."—N. E. D.

## II. In early drafts and rejected alternate readings.

against (conj. "when"). *Dial.*  
 "Against you tread where I have trod"—for *SL* lxii.  
 amidmost *Poetic*.  
 "And amidmost of the gate"—for *LP* xxxi.  
 axe ("axis"). [*Obs.*] "... not found after O. E. period except in compounds."—N. E. D.  
 "Wake: the axe of morning"—for *SL* iv, 1.  
 clovery *Rare*.  
 "the clovery turf"  
 "the lawns of clovery turf"—for *LP* xli.  
 listen (transitive). *Arch.* and *Poetic*.  
 "You listen now the lover's say"—for *SL* lvii.  
 mountained *Poetic, rare*.  
 "move upon a mountained road"—from an unpublished poem.  
 mayhap "Now *arch.*, *rhet.*, and *dial.*"—N. E. D.  
 "mayhap till doomsday thunder"—for *SL* iii.  
 many-slumbered. For *slumbered* the N. E. D. notes *Rare*.  
 "their many-slumbered ground"—from an unpublished stanza.  
 sprack "chiefly dialectal."—N. E. D.  
 "the sprack and the good to behold."—for *SL* xxiii.  
 to-shut [*Obs.*]  
 "At to-shut of the eve"—for *SL* xxvii.  
 tun ("chimney"). *Dial.*  
 "From tun and tower and steep" for *LP* xli.  
 twinned ("separated"). *Obs.*  
 "Too long we friends are twinned"  
 "And friend from friend is twinned"—both for *LP* xix.  
 wreaked ("moved violently"). [*Obs.*] The N. E. D. places this use in the O. E. period only.  
 "But then it wreaked another wood"—for *SL* xxxi.

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## OLD ENGLISH ALDHELM GLOSSES

In *Revue Bénédictine*, xxxix, 191-2, E. A. Lowe described briefly thirty-three leaves of a manuscript of Aldhelm's *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, two of the leaves being at Cambridge, twenty-eight at Cheltenham, one at Oxford, and two in the collection of W. Merton at Slindon.<sup>1</sup> He noted that these leaves have an added interest in that they contain Old English glosses, published by Napier in his *Old English Glosses*.

Glosses from the Cheltenham leaves and from the Cambridge leaves were published by Napier.<sup>2</sup> The glosses in the Merton leaves, photographs of which are kept with the Cambridge leaves (University Library, Add. MS. 3330) were not published by Napier, and I did not know of them when making my collection. As they contain one word not known to OE lexicography, I offer them here.<sup>3</sup> They are in at least two hands of about eleventh century. The *yo* for *eo* in *geþyodde* points to Kentish characteristics noted by Napier in the glosses from the Cheltenham leaves (*OEG*, xxxii).

1R. verumtamen	wæpere ðeh	Ehw. 301, 11
IV. applicauit	gesette	301, 24
probrosas	þa manfullan	302, 1
cruentis	blod <sup>4</sup>	302, 7
2R. denique	witelice <sup>5</sup>	304, 14
supremi	þes ytemeste	304, 16
examinis	domes	304, 16
discretionis	toscades	304, 16

<sup>1</sup> Lowe thought that the leaves, although difficult to date, might be 9th century.

<sup>2</sup> He published the glosses from the Cheltenham MS. listed by Lowe as Phillipps MS. 8071, but he published no glosses from the two leaves mentioned by Lowe as being bound in Phillipps MS. 20688, and whether or not these contain glosses I do not know. Concerning the Oxford leaf (Bodleian MS. Lat. th. f. 2), while my colleague, Professor Ackerman, was recently at the Bodleian he informed me that to this leaf has been added another, the two now catalogued as Lat. th. d. 24; but in neither did he note any OE glosses.

<sup>3</sup> The context for the Latin lemmata is given from Ehwald's edition of Aldhelm's works, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, xv (1919).

<sup>4</sup> For *blodigum*; cf. *cruentis*: *blodigum*, Napier, *OEG* 11, 149.

<sup>5</sup> Read *witodlice*.

balance	wæge	304, 16
ita	þus	304, 17
ad . . . clangorem	7 te cyrme *	304, 18
ita	þus	304, 19
clangor	clangetug †	304, 20
2V. charybdibus	geswelgum *	305, 7
lautumiae	witehuses	305, 11
herescit	geþyodde	305, 13
exin	sitþan	305, 13

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## OLD ENGLISH ENT: ICELANDIC ENTA

The word *ent* 'giant' is probably best known from Old English poetry, where we often come across *cald enta geweorc* 'the old work of giants' referring to the Roman ruins in England or to some old masterpiece of the smith's art like a sword.

Parallels to this word have apparently long been known from German. Grimm's Dictionary lists *enz* 'ungeheuer, riese,' from a (Bavarian) dialect. Walde-Pokorny I, 179 list this under the IE roots *ond* / *nd* from which Sanskrit *adri-* 'stone' is derived. They also have a reference to Lidén, *Stud.* 56, 7 and 57 ff. where the Swedish etymologist guesses that *ent* may be from \**amit-* and belong to the O & Mod. Icel. *ama* 'plague, trouble,' Mod. Icel. *amla* 'work steadily at something,' the Gothic *Amalungen*, and the German *emzig*. 'beharrlich.'

Recently I came across a place-name in Iceland *Enta* or *Entugjá*

\* The sign 7 renders the *que* of an immediately preceding *gotorumque*.

† The word *clangorem* at 304, 18 refers to tumult of the Goths, the present *clangor* to noise accompanying the trump of doom. Read *clangetung*, a word not in the dictionaries. The word is made from *clang-* of Latin *clangor* by using part of the suffix *ettan* and the abstract suffix *ung*. The single *t* in *clangetung* is eleventh century OE for *tt*, that is *clangettung*. On the suffix *ettan* cf. Marckwardt's article in *Language*, 18, 275-81. It occurs in such words having to do with noise as *ceahhettan*, *cohhettan*, *cracettan*, *fnærettan*, *grymettan*, *gyrretan*, *hlocettan*, *miscrocettan*, *scrallettan*, *sicettan*. Some of these words are accompanied by abstract nouns in *ung*, and the noun *clangetung* is analogous in its ending to *ceahhet(t)ung*, *cræcettung*, *grymet(t)ung*, *hlocettung*, *sicet(t)ung*.

\* Final *m* abbreviated in *ms*.

'the chasm of Enta.' It is the name of a volcanic chasm on the north side of Mýrdalsjökull, just opposite *Katla* or *Kötlugjá* 'the chasm of Katla' on the south side of the glacier, one of the most active volcanoes in Iceland. Similar names are: *Hekla* the most famous of the Icelandic volcanoes, *Krafla*, and perhaps *Askja*, though the last named probably means 'bowl' and may be derived from the shape of the volcano rather than from its gigantic activity. *Katla*, on the other hand, was a sorceress, who, having killed a man and having been found out, finally fled and jumped into the chasm which after that began to spout fire and floods. In Icelandic folklore there is always a definite affinity between sorcerers and giants, and I have a hunch that not only *Katla* but also *Hekla* and *Krafla* were thought of as giantesses with a power commensurable with their volcanic output.

That *Enta* was a giantess also there can be little doubt in view of the meaning of the Old English word. But the name has been completely isolated in Icelandic and not understood; hence the Icelandic map-makers of the Danish General Staff maps (at least in the *Aðalkort bl. 6 Miðsuðurland*) have printed it *Etna* probably with the famous Sicilian volcano in mind.

There is a reproduction of a painting of Enta by Guðmundur Einarsson in his sumptuous work *Fjallamenn* (Reykjavík 1946).

It may be added that not far away from *Enta* there is another placename *Emstrur* which probably means 'hills hard to cross' and belongs to the stem in *ama*. To a Modern Iclander *Emstrur* in that sense would be vaguely understandable from the verb *amstra*, but *Enta*, as far as I know, is quite dead and gone.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

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## REVIEWS

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*Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies.* Edited by THOMAS A. KIRBY and HENRY BOSLEY WOOLF. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1949. Pp. x + 382. \$7.50.

As befits a volume published in honor of so versatile a scholar as Kemp Malone, *Philologica* contains articles in many fields of scholarship. In the present review an attempt will be made to

indicate this variety of subject matter, but necessarily without an extensive discussion of any of the forty-three items.

In the Old English field, Erika von Erhardt-Siebold offers a study of three of the riddles of the Exeter Book (35, 56, 70), illustrating them by a consideration of early looms and weaving techniques. For Riddle 70 she proposes the new solution "shuttle." Norman E. Eliason reconsiders the three lines on fol. 125b of the Exeter Book which are regarded as a single riddle by Tupper and Mackie but which are printed as two riddles (68-69) by Trautmann and Krapp-Dobbie. Accepting these lines as a single riddle, he proposes the new solution "Christ walking on the sea." Francis P. Magoun, Jr., in a study of the references in *Beowulf* to North-, South-, East-, and West-Danes, offers evidence from literary sources that there had once been such a classification of the Danes according to the four cardinal points, but he does not claim that these terms are of significance in the poem. Simeon Potter presents an article on King Alfred's preface to the Old English version of St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*. This preface, important for the study of Anglo-Saxon *realien* as well as for its own sake, has been much misunderstood, and Professor Potter's translation and comment will, it is hoped, remove some of the prevailing misconceptions. It is particularly gratifying to have a correct English rendering of the second sentence of this text; the mistranslation given by H. L. Hargrove in 1904 (similar to the one by P. G. Thomas cited in Professor Potter's note 20) has been uncritically quoted in a general survey of Anglo-Saxon literature as recently as 1949. Else von Schaubert offers further evidence in support of an Old English absolute participial construction in the nominative or accusative case, thus supplementing the material given in *Anglia* LXII, 173 ff., and in her edition of *Beowulf*. Her interpretations of *Phoenix* 79-80a, *Riming Poem* 9b, *Ruin* 5-6a, *Ruin* 7, *Genesis* 319b-320a, and *Exodus* 501a provide plausible alternatives to the hitherto proposed explanations of these passages. Rudolph Willard deals with the fourth Blickling Homily, "Dominica Tertia in Quadragesima," also found in MS. Junius 86. The first and third parts of this homily, which deal with tithing, are based largely on the sermon "De reddendis decimis" by Caesarius of Arles. Besides an analysis of the relationships of the two texts, Professor Willard presents the relevant parts of the Old English homily, from the Junius MS., together with the corresponding passages of Caesarius' sermon. Dorothy Bethurum discusses a Latin letter addressed by the bishops of England to one of the popes, early in the eleventh century, protesting against the necessity of traveling to Rome in order to receive the archiepiscopal pallium. On good grounds, Professor Bethurum regards this letter as the work of Wulfstan. George W. Cobb presents a classification of all the subjunctive forms in Old English poetry (2775 in number, according to his



count) "on the basis of the underlying modalities or psychological states," following Kemp Malone's analysis of the five modal categories of the English verb, animative, putative, morative, judicative, and volitive. In the absence of complete citations of material, it is impossible for a reviewer to assess the validity of this classification. Robert J. Menner, in a new study of the vocabulary of the Blickling Homilies, concludes that the homilies, "with a few possible exceptions," were originally composed in the Mercian dialect. Unfortunately the evidence from vocabulary is insufficient to determine the original date of these homilies, but his conclusions as to dialect seem amply justified. Albert H. Marckwardt gives the results of a new investigation of inflectional changes in late Old English, continuing the work of Samuel Moore and Kemp Malone and in general reinforcing their conclusions as to the leveling of unstressed vowels. From a survey of the verb endings in unstressed vowel plus *-n* (etymological *-on*, *-an*, *-en*) in fifteen eleventh-century texts, Professor Marckwardt concludes that the leveling of these endings began with the adoption of *-on* as the ending of the subjunctive plural, which was followed by "the reduction or neutralization of preterit indicative, infinitive, and past participle in the order named." Of similar import is an article by Bartlett Jere Whiting, who studies the rimes in the poem on King William preserved in the Peterborough Chronicle under the year 1087. His conclusions support the contentions of Moore and Malone that the dropping of final *-n* and the leveling of unstressed vowels were well under way before the Norman Conquest. The Old English studies are concluded by an article by H. Lüdeke, who discusses the early Saxon settlements in the lower Thames basin and their significance in the general history of the Anglo-Saxon settlements.

In the Middle English field, Marie Padgett Hamilton discusses Chaucer's prioress and her "preestes thre" in the light of what is known of the nunnery at Stratford atte Bowe and concludes that "the retinue of three priests would not have been inconsistent with the status of Stratford atte Bowe as Chaucer must have known it," that as a matter of fact an escort of only one man for the two nuns would have been at variance with monastic custom. Roger Sherman Loomis points out certain lines in the French *Enfances Gauvain* which anticipate Chaucer's views on marriage in the Franklin's Tale. He does not, however, claim that the French poem was one of Chaucer's sources. Albert C. Baugh edits a short poem "de ffratribus et sororibus" from the fifteenth-century Peniarth MS. 52, which he calls "A Fraternity of Drinkers." This poem is of more than ordinary interest, since the goliardic tradition, to which it belongs, is of infrequent appearance in English vernacular literature. C. T. Onions presents some critical notes and speculations on the text of *Havelok*; his most significant

conclusion is that the prologue (ll. 1-26), which contains three instances of the verbal prefix *i-*, *y-* which are required by the meter, was not an original part of the poem. Eilert Ekwall explains ME *fōn*, "few, a few" (a Northern word found in many texts), as a development of OE *hwōn* through the combined influence of the synonym *few* and the antonym *fele*; he also argues convincingly that the infinitive *sēn*, "to happen," which occurs twice in *Genesis* and *Exodus* (ll. 298, 1923), is a variant spelling of *shēn* (< OE *gescēon*), with the spelling *s-* for etymological *sh-* which is characteristic of this text. Henning Larson, in a textual note on *Cursor Mundi*, l. 1291, supports the reading (*he*) *saynet him*, "he signed himself (with the cross)," of the Fairfax MS. Henry L. Savage explains the form *molaynes*, in l. 169 of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, as the plural of *molan*, "a bit for a horse," the plural form referring to enameled bosses at the ends of a single bit. This interpretation is similar to the one given by Tolkien and Gordon but is more firmly grounded etymologically. D. D. Griffith advocates a more intensive study of Chaucer's word usage, with the help of dictionaries, concordances, and other available materials, and gives some illustrations of the results to be derived from this approach.

In the wider field of general medieval literature, Laura Hibbard Loomis traces the legend of St. Mercurius (reputed to have been the posthumous slayer of Julian the Apostate) as it appears in medieval English and Scandinavian writings. Samuel A. Small discusses the significance of *Iuventus*, the fourth and most all-embracing of the Seven Ages of Man, with particular reference to an illustration in a Dutch edition of Bartholomaeus Anglicus published in 1485. Howard R. Patch examines several medieval romances in which Otherworld motifs appear, with a view to determining in each case the process of adoption of the Otherworld material. Tom Peete Cross calls attention to Thomas F. O'Rahilly's book *Early Irish History and Mythology* (1946) and discusses its value for the interpretation of Arthurian romance. Howard Meroney discusses the use of a person's full name and address in early Irish literature (or, more specifically, the use of the *ainm ocus us ocus domgnás*, "name and origin and residence"), and cites interesting parallels from other literatures. Walther P. Fischer offers a reprint, with some critical and historical observations, of the story of King Lear as it appears in Johannes Nauclerus' *Universal History*, first printed at Tübingen in 1516. Of particular interest is Stefán Einarsson's survey and bibliography of Icelandic popular poetry during the period 1350-1550; since this period of Icelandic poetry has received much less attention than the earlier periods, Professor Einarsson has done a useful service to American scholars in providing this brief introduction to the subject.

In a study of John Hart, whose works on English orthography have hitherto been accepted as an authentic record of sixteenth-

century Standard English, Helge Kökeritz shows that Hart was a Devonshire man and that the English recorded by him was merely a modified form of his native dialect.

Five of the articles deal with present-day English. Thomas Pyles writes on the recent trend among American speakers toward the "Italian" [a], in place of the older [æ], in words of obviously foreign origin, such as *Dante*, *dilettante*, and *canto*. R. W. Zandvoort discusses two collective functions of the nominal *s*-suffix, which he terms the "organizational *s*" (as in *Macmillans* and *Woolworths*) and the "familial *s*" (plurals of family names with no definite article, as *Suttons*, *Crowthers*, etc.); he cites examples of the latter construction, on familiar levels of discourse, from the other Germanic languages. Allen Walker Read discusses English words containing elements which seem to the linguistically naive speaker to have independent semantic value—such words as *guttural* (which seems to contain *gutter*), *noisome* (which seems to contain *noise*), and the like. His observations on *guttural* are amusingly borne out by the quotation in Professor Pyles' fourth footnote (p. 291), in which the implication is made that only naughty people use *gutturals*. H. L. Mencken comments on the flowering in recent years of new verbs formed from nouns or adjectives by functional change, devoting special attention to *contact* and *process*. Eston E. Ericson calls attention to new meanings of certain words: *sadism*, *sadist*, *sadistic* used with no implication of sexual perversion; *moron*, *moronic* as applied to sex degenerates, and *smithy* as the equivalent of "smith, blacksmith."

William A. Read presents etymological notes on twenty names of animals, birds, and fish from the Antilles and South America, and Björn Guðfinnson, in an interesting study in linguistic geography, traces the regional distribution of the *hv*- and *kv*-pronunciations (for etymological *hv*-) in Modern Icelandic. Gudmund Schütte presents further arguments in favor of the term *Gothonic* as a politically neutral designation for the Germanic nations. Professor Schütte first proposed this term at least thirty years ago, but except for its use in Otto Jespersen's *Language* (1922), it has achieved slight currency in English-speaking countries.

There are five articles on the history of scholarship. Philip H. Goepp, II, gives an instructive analysis of the list of "most ancient Saxon words" included in Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605). Thomas A. Kirby prints four letters on linguistic subjects from Thomas Jefferson to John Pickering of Salem, written from 1822 to 1825, two of which have never been printed before. Henry Bosley Woolf discusses Longfellow's interest in Old English literature, and particularly the essay which he wrote for the *North American Review* in 1838. Although Longfellow's essay was largely derivative from Conybeare and Thorpe, Professor Woolf does not overrate its value when he calls it "a beginning of

Old English studies in America." Finally, in this group, there are two articles on N. F. S. Grundtvig, the Danish pioneer in *Beowulf* studies. Franklin D. Cooley deals with the failure of early German and English scholars to give Grundtvig credit for the identification of Hygelac with the Chochilaicus mentioned by Gregory of Tours or, in many cases, to appreciate its significance. David J. Savage discusses Grundtvig's prospectus, issued in 1830 and again in the following year, for an edition of Old English poetry in ten volumes; nothing came directly from this proposal, but it provided a stimulus to English scholars and ultimately resulted in the editions by Thorpe and Kemble.

There are, finally, two articles of more general interest. Archer Taylor presents a classification of riddles which, though brief, helps to clarify our knowledge of this genre, and Stith Thompson discusses the differences between the oral and the written tale and the significance of these differences for the study of folklore. A list of Kemp Malone's published works concludes the volume.

Because of limitations of space, I have been able to give only a general account of the contents of *Philologica*, with occasional comment; this review therefore fails to indicate adequately the extraordinary richness of the collection and its value to future students in these fields. Editors, contributors, and publishers are all to be congratulated on the contents and format of the book; it is a worthy tribute to a great scholar.

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*A Literary History of England.* Edited by ALBERT C. BAUGH.  
New York and London: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948.  
Pp. xii + 1673. \$7.50.

The composition of an adequate history of English literature is no longer within the province of any individual. Forty years ago the *Cambridge History* used fifteen large volumes with more than a dozen contributors to each one, while the *Oxford History* is currently issuing twelve volumes, each by a single author. Yet neither scheme of scholarly collaboration insures uniformity among so many parts. To overcome such difficulty this American undertaking in one volume, or now in the alternative four bindings, engages just five writers, who follow with slight change the five chronological divisions and the nomenclature adopted in the *Cambridge Bibliography*. This plan assigned to Kemp Malone the Old English period, to Albert C. Baugh the Middle English, to Tucker Brooke the Renaissance, to George P. Sherburn the Restoration

and Eighteenth Century, and to Samuel C. Chew "The Nineteenth Century and After." Thus the competence of each author in communicating ideas as definitely as in learning is balanced by a harmony of co-operative treatment scarcely attainable through the Cambridge or the Oxford division of labor.

Malone sets forth the claim for English from early times as a "vehicle of civilization." He stresses the rank of England in its golden age, the seventh and eighth centuries, as the chief seat of scholarship in western Europe, responsible "for the preservation and transmission of classical culture" through Anglo-Latin writings. Successive accounts of Old English verse are illustrated by many of the author's own happy renderings of the original lines. Comment follows on the religious poems of the Caedmonian and Cynewulfian schools, with others from "The Dream of the Rood" to "The Seafarer." Among relatively few examples of secular poetry is "the chief literary monument of the Old English period," *Beowulf*, to which, however, are given only two pages of discussion. Extant prose of this period is chiefly clerical and learned. Yet the tenth and eleventh centuries, Malone asserts, were producing some artistic prose from a fair garden well cultivated, but the Normans under William laid it waste and slew its keepers.

Such an attitude, apparently, is not shared by Baugh, who declares, "The Norman conquerors and those who later came in their train brought to England much that was new and stimulating and valuable." Instances of these accretions are continental tastes, new material, models, and standards, with greater wealth, as well as higher intellectual levels set by the foreign-born bishops. For two centuries the "literature of England" was largely in French or Latin, with the notable exception of *Ancrene Riwe*, to which a separate chapter is devoted. Religious exhortations, Arthurian legends, and numerous romances derived from the "matter" of Rome, Greece, Britain, and other sources are duly classified and explained. Richard Rolle's writings become more significant set beside other products of mysticism; the *Pearl* poet is associated with the "alliterative revival." Baugh is skeptical of Manly's case for separate authorship of the A and B-texts of *Piers Plowman*, but adds that several considerations "raise serious doubt about the authorship" of the C-text. Chaucer's earlier poems form the subject of one chapter, the *Canterbury Tales* of another, but Gower, "Sir John Mandeville," and Wyclif are considered together. An otherwise admirable exposition of the beginnings of drama fails to name the dominant topic of the miracle or mystery cycles as "The Fall and Redemption of Man," a concept less obvious to modern readers than to medieval. Then a short summary of the fifteenth century, a factual account of the long beshadowed Thomas Malory, a fairly brief review of the popular ballads, and we pass to the next period.



Tucker Brooke's thirty-three chapters, written just before his sudden death, form a series of the most enlivening critical essays that he has contributed to scholarship. His assignment demanded discussion of Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, the New Learning, the interludes, Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline drama, the "novels" of Lyly, Sidney, Greene, and their followers, the King James Bible and its predecessors, with Elizabethan and seventeenth century lyrics. To the rare opportunity thus offered Brooke responds heartily. He makes lucid the entire story with zest and a grace of style peculiarly his own. "When the sap seems to have gone out of poetry and the patterns of life have grown too stereotyped, a new writer will sometimes appear like heaven's benediction with the demand for homelier things and a truer poetic language." Of *The Faerie Queene*: "Still beginning, never ending, character is added to character, incident to incident, as our motley life flows past the windows of Kilcolman Castle." Of *Euphues*: "If Queen Elizabeth's maids of honor, who gave their days and nights to the volumes of Lyly, had emulated the conduct of his characters as assiduously as they strove to imitate his language, the social chronicles of that time would have made far tamer reading." One may harbor lingering doubts as to the utter chastity of Marlowe's writing or the sustained interest of Spenser's allegory, both of which Brooke vigorously champions. One may even query the statement that "Milton's Eve is the artistic legacy of all the pain that Mary Powell inflicted"; or that Herrick, "praising pagan love and pastoral beauty as he does, . . . seldom lets the reader forget that he is a gray-headed parson who hates the country and abhors matrimony." Yet one will readily forgive a contrary judgment so neatly put.

After Brooke's ebullient enthusiasm the coolly critical comments of Sherburn, covering 1685 to 1789, have a sobering effect. In the absence from this period of supreme literary figures, Sherburn allots single chapters to Dryden's poetry, to penetrating analyses of Swift and of Samuel Johnson, but to no other one individual, not even Alexander Pope, "the greatest poet . . . of the century." Instead, we read of common trends and practices, underlying neo-classical philosophies, and development of *genres* that mark the eighteenth century and the Restoration, too. Essays gave life to various periodicals, from those of Defoe, Steele, and Addison onward, significant histories, biographies, and philosophical studies were published, and the novel through Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett enjoyed new form and substance. Sherburn cannot condone the immoral character of Restoration drama, nor is he blind to the "confused and mediocre writing" that followed dramatic reform. All these developments he traces patiently and methodically. Yet he occasionally overloads a sentence with too many discursive ideas. To cite an extreme instance: "Mrs. Eliza Hay-



wood (1693?-1756), who had begun her long career as a playwright and novelist (i. e., short-story writer) inherited Mrs. Manley's love of scandal in her *Memoirs of Utopia* (2 volumes, 1725) in which she indulged in slurs on Lord Bolingbroke, Mrs. Howard (the royal mistress), and Martha Blount, a procedure which, since these were all friends of Pope, won Mrs. Haywood a mean rôle in *The Dunciad*." Consistent pruning of parenthetical expressions would aid apperception.

By reason of its sheer bulk and the individualism of its writers, the apportionment to Chew, embracing roughly the past century and half, came to be the heaviest chore of the five. Assigning special chapters to Blake, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Jane Austen, Scott, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Carlyle, Ruskin, Tennyson, Morris, Swinburne, Meredith, and Hardy, he had also to evaluate various minor writers, explain at several intervals political, social, and religious backgrounds, romanticism, the theory of evolution, the drama in decline, the Irish literary renaissance, besides devoting ten chapters chiefly or completely to the novel. Of remarkable erudition in both breadth and depth, Professor Chew unblushingly confesses limitations to his reading of all the novels or "more than a fraction of the enormous literature" touching evolution theories. His forthright criticisms are dispassionate rather than subjective. For example: "The fact that at times Shelley was peculiarly close to madness chastens amusement when we contemplate his impulsive eccentricities of conduct." "Emphasis upon the value of Keats's thought is a phenomenon in the criticism of our own day." "Pater is nearer to Arnold in his fastidiousness though without Arnold's superciliousness." "Does not James seem always to be demanding of his reader not that he listen to what is being told, but that he observe with unflagging attention how it is being told?" Obviously, Chew has greater respect for the nineteenth century than for the "after" years. He is quick to discern weaknesses in Shaw, Samuel Butler, and Masfield, while Dowson, Wilde, De la Mare, Noyes, and George Moore are not for him.

To facilitate its usefulness for reference, authors of the text provide an excellent index and marginal topic heads. For formal bibliographies they substitute "generous footnotes" to mark standard editions and helpful biographical or critical works on authors and subjects discussed. This reader was irritated by the consistent silent omission of New York and London as places of publication, and by cross references, not to specific pages, but to book, part, and chapter alluded to. As a whole, however, the work represents a high achievement of American scholarship, couched in language that the student can understand and enjoy.

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Thomas Heywood's *The Rape of Lucrece*. By ALLAN HOLADAY.  
 Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1950. *Illinois Studies  
 in Language and Literature*, Vol. xxxiv, No. 3. \$3.00.

Mr. Holaday's edition of *The Rape of Lucrece* consists of an introduction of 44 pages, the text of the fifth quarto of 1638 with collations of variants in all other editions, and some 30 pages of explanatory notes. The greater part of the introduction is devoted to expounding the theory, previously broached in *J.E.G.P.*, XLIV (1945), that the play was written about 1594 and revised in 1607, shortly before it was first printed. In my opinion, this is a reasonable hypothesis, but only a hypothesis; none of the evidence cited for it is decisive. To put the play back to the beginning of Heywood's career Mr. Holaday relies on (1) the "violent" style and crude theatricalism which must antedate the "mature dramatic technique" of *A Woman Killed with Kindness* (1604), (2) the derivation of certain scenes from Shakespeare's *Lucrece* (1594), (3) a reference to Lucrece on the stage in Drayton's *Matilda* (1594), and (4) a reference to the dangers risked by "barren Princes" which fits Queen Elizabeth. (1) is of course an example of the evolutionary fallacy, the idea that a writer's artistry must develop by steady improvement. It is ludicrously inapplicable to Heywood, who clearly wrote *If You Know Not Me* and *The Golden Age* some years after attaining the maturity of *A Woman Killed with Kindness*. (2) proves only that the play was not written before 1594. (3) is a good point, only we have no way of being sure that Heywood's is the only play on the subject. As for (4), the last decade of the sixteenth century seems to me the least likely time for sharp remarks about barren princes from stage. The time for nagging Elizabeth on this subject was the time of *Gorboduc*; in 1594 it was not only highly censorable but preposterous. To substantiate his revision of 1607 Mr. Holaday points to some (far from glaring) differences of style in different scenes and to echoes of Shakespeare's plays from *Julius Caesar* to *Macbeth*. The latter impress me as being thin to the point of vanishing completely. We are asked to believe that because Tullia is ambitious to be queen and prods her husband to seize the throne (something he needs little urging to do) Heywood is imitating *Macbeth*. Is it likely that this episode, which incites most of the subsequent action, was omitted from the earlier version? If it was there, how could it have differed essentially from what we have (which does not differ essentially from Livy's account)? We are asked to "start" on hearing a "famous Shakespearean tag" in "yet heare me *Brutus*, Thou art honourable" (spoken without irony). We are asked to see in a short sequence of *speeches* (about 25 lines) ordering the exhibition of the body of Lucretia in "the market place" (as in Livy) an imitation of the forum scene in *Julius*

*Caesar*. I cannot distinguish this kind of thing from wishful thinking. With this theory Mr. Holaday interweaves the supposition that Heywood wrote the play for Robert Browne, who acted it successfully on the continent for many years, and that the revision of 1607 was intended to refurbish it for a series of performances in London with Browne in the role of Valerius. In my judgment, this is a not unlikely supposition, but unproved and unprovable.

Mr. Holaday's work in reproducing and annotating the text is competently done and he deserves our thanks for making available a reliable text of an interesting play. But his procedure invites comment on editorial practice. In illustrating my comments from Mr. Holaday's edition I imply no special disparagement of it; they are also pertinent to a number of other editions published in recent years.

Mr. Holaday appears to be justified in choosing the edition of 1638 as his basis rather than one of the earlier printings. Aside from adding songs, the early reprints often alter the texts, and some of the alterations look authoritative. But nowhere does Mr. Holaday discuss this point or give his reasons for selecting the fifth quarto to print. Inasmuch as the choice of the copy-text, where there is a choice, is the most important decision an editor must make, he is in duty bound to give his readers an account of his reasons, to prove, in fact, that his choice is the right one. If he does not, he leaves us to accept what is, for all we know, an arbitrary choice. He should also feel obligated to infer as much as he can about the printer's copy on which the copy-text depends. His whole treatment of the text should be guided by the opinion of its authenticity so formed. Mr. Holaday shows no interest in this aspect of his text; when he comes to a stage-direction which looks like a prompter's note anticipating the need for props in the next scene (2711 "A Table and Lights in the tent") all he says is "This line should follow l. 2714."

It is questionable whether a literal reprint of an early printed text suits the needs of the largest number of readers. For some purposes an untouched reproduction of this kind is useful, though most students who require it will prefer and usually seek a copy of the original or a photographic reproduction. What most readers want is what the author intended, and when it can hardly be doubted that the printed text departs from his intention it seems excessively timid simply to reprint the manifest errors of his printers. When the 1638 quarto of *The Rape of Lucrece* reads "the ore-whelmed Mounraines hurld by Iove" (364) there is no reasonable doubt whatever that we have a literal misprint, of no use and little interest to any reader, peculiar to this edition, as Mr. Holaday's collations show. When Mr. Holaday reproduces "his Lord takes it unkindle" (1556) there is not even a note on

the readings of other editions, though it seems improbable that all of them repeat so elementary an error. Sometimes he corrects his text in his explanatory notes; e.g. 930 "Read: 'Thou had'st pronounc't . . .'" (this is the reading of Q1; Q4 accidentally omitted the *d* and was followed by Q5). What we should read properly belongs in the text; one has not really edited a text if one simply reproduces it as one finds it. This extreme conservatism is in part a reaction against the irresponsible tinkering which has from time to time passed for editing, but so drastic a reaction has gone too far. An edition of an Elizabethan play intended for students of dramatic art rather than students of typography should recapture what the author wrote whenever it has manifestly been lost through errors of transmission and recapture is possible. To fail to do so is to abdicate the editor's function.

It would be as helpful as it is simple for an editor of a hand-printed text always to specify the copy from which he prints. I suspect that Mr. Holaday used the Folger copy of *The Rape of Lucrece*, but he does not say so; some future student of the play may heartily wish he had. A line-for-line reprint should exhibit the page-division of the original. An editor should examine several copies of his text, indeed as many as possible. So far as I have checked it, Mr. Holaday's text is accurate, but there are some differences between what he prints and the readings of the copy I have used.<sup>1</sup> Some of these differences may be the result of stop-press corrections; if they are, the fact should certainly have been taken into consideration. There is no fun in collating copies for corrections made in the process of printing, but it is time for editors to accept the duty as a matter of course.

I may add that I think a play should be edited as a play; Mr. Holaday, e.g., has little to say about the staging of *The Rape of Lucrece*, and some of the staging is most interesting. He lists Mr. Reynolds' book on the Red Bull in his bibliography, but it is hard to see where he has made use of it.

These comments seem to me worth making, not because Mr. Holaday has done a bad job—on the contrary, as I have said, what he has done is competently done—, but because he and some other young scholars who have recently edited plays, by not following the soundest and most conscientious editorial practice, have overlooked opportunities to make their work still more serviceable. If the shortcomings I have pointed out were chargeable to Mr. Holaday alone it would perhaps be unwise to allot them so much of the valuable space of this journal; they are, however, rather common,

<sup>1</sup> *E. g.*, 76 sound, (Mr. Holaday's text) = sound (the copy I have used) / 124 founded = sounded / 1636 your is modest, = yours is modest / 2511 *Collantine* = *Collatine* / 2623 Thy = The / 2644 back = backe / 2657 Soft = Sofr / 2663 souldiers = souldiers, / 2785 right = righr / 2795 bloud = bloud, / 2860 split = spilt.

and their commonness is the point. Nobody is compelled to edit a play; only those willing to come up to the mark should volunteer for a task which, at best, is rather meagerly rewarded.

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*Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic.* By RUTH WALLERSTEIN.

Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1950. Pp. 421. \$6.50.

This interesting, erudite study of the poetic art of the seventeenth-century attempts to enable the modern scholar to understand the poetry of that period in terms of the modes and patterns which give this poetry its beauty and unity. Acting on the principle that a study of several poems dealing with a single theme would give a clearer insight into the seventeenth-century than an intensive study of a single poet or line of poets, Miss Wallerstein turned to the funeral elegy. Here was a well established genre and a theme fascinating to the period. From a vast body of elegy literature she selected five elegies on the death of Prince Henry (1612) which are compared with those on Edward King (1638) and these in turn with those on Henry, Lord Hastings (1649). The poets range from minor writers such as James Maxwell to great figures such as Donne, Milton, Marvell, Herrick, Denham and Dryden. These elegies serve as illustrations of the variety of views of the nature of a poem and the art of expression which the author rehearses in her first chapter.

In this chapter, "Schooling and Approaches to Theory," Miss Wallerstein moves back through Scaliger to Aristotle and Plato and then forward through Scaliger's disciple, Pontanus. Despite their many differences, "for all these writers poetry is a mediate expression of truth to the imagination in sensuous terms through richly elaborated beauty." Pontanus, however, finds his greatest interest "in the doctrine of poetry rather than its delight and in the direct expression of its moral rather than its narrative." His concern for logic and his selection of witty figures helped him and the Jesuit practitioner to emphasize the "aridly witty poetry at the expense of the immediately descriptive and imaginative." A radically different approach to the problem of expression stemmed from St. Augustine and, in spite of many changes, left a distinct impression on Renaissance poetic. His concept of style in so far as it was strictly symbolic shows the influence of Tertullian. It was also influenced by the allegorical interpretation of the Bible. Miss Wallerstein traces the allegorical approach through Origen and Philo Judaeus down through Hugh of St. Victor and Bonaventura,



in whom "a theory of style based on the principle of symbolic thought, only implicit and almost overlaid in Origen, becomes explicit and complete." This is not simply a persisting medieval habit of allegory, but "it is the conception of thought symbol and word in which the views of Augustine and his followers significantly determine style." This background study illuminates in many ways the nature of metaphysical poetry.

In examining the elegies of Drummond and Fletcher Miss Wallerstein points out the influence of a view of poetry as conceived by Scaliger; in her analysis of Donne's elegies, she indicates the prevalence of Augustine's influence. The study of the two other groups of elegies shows the rise and fall of the alternating influences of the major concepts already outlined by Miss Wallerstein.

The second half of the book, called "Marvell and the Various Light" devotes a chapter to the structure of poetry and one to the intellectual backgrounds and currents of Marvell's time. The final chapter is a stimulating and illuminating *explication de texte* of the *Horatian Ode, Upon Appleton House*, and *The Garden* with a slighter treatment of the other poems. Although the second part of the book seems a reversal of the principle of the first part in its concentration on a single poet, it is actually an expansion of the ideas expressed in Part I and a more concentrated analysis of their influence.

The chapter on the structure of poetry points out most cogently the limitations of modern critics who have no interest in or knowledge of Marvell's aim or intellectual milieu. The author seeks to recover "the balance of substance and form which existed in Marvell's poems in his own day" by a discussion of the structure, imagery and diction of his poetry. This is a profitable chapter illuminated by brilliant analysis and comments on symbolism and word play.

The form as well as the content of Marvell's images carries the reader to a study of the philosophical concepts which are "an ever-present element in his emotions." This long and erudite chapter on backgrounds and currents prepares the way for the final chapter, the *explication de texte*. Miss Wallerstein relates the tradition of the retired life and the anti-intellectualism of the seventeenth century to "the traditional attitude in neo-Platonism and in Christian Platonism toward the created world and the problem of ascesis. This leads to a consideration of the book of the creatures for in that concept of the creature, which is a special aspect of the great chain of being, and in the formal representation of the book were embodied both those pictures of the cosmos and the theory of man's understanding of it and of his integration with it which most influenced Marvell." And all of this must be in turn related to the particular religious climate of the seventeenth-century.

The discussion of the influence of St. Augustine, St. Hugh of



Victor, Bonaventura, the Victorines, Plotinus, Licinio and many more on the intellectual world of the Renaissance throws new light on Spenser, Vaughan, Browne, Herbert, Donne and Milton as well as on Marvell.

The value of this book is threefold: first, it presents aspects of classical, medieval and scholastic thought which are very significant for students of the intellectual milieu of the seventeenth century. Some old clichés must be abandoned. Second, it abounds in illuminating comments on poets of the period which challenge the reader to pursue new lines of investigation; and third, it offers a fresh and lively interpretation of Marvell's poetry.

In view of the many riches which the book offers, it is indeed a carping critic who comments on the style. The need to condense great quantities of material has led Miss Wallerstein into long, exhausting compound-complex sentences (pp. 65, 157). Scholarly caution has sometimes produced many subordinate phrases and a certain awkwardness of expression. One wishes that so much new and stimulating material might have been expressed more felicitously. The book, however, is abundantly rewarding to the reader who perseveres.

KATHRINE KOLLER

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*Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier. The World of His Final Tragedies.*

By WILLIAM FARNHAM. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950. Pp. 289.

The "frontier" in Professor Farnham's title symbolizes the new development which he believes the idea of tragedy undergoes in Shakespeare's later plays. Professor Farnham distinguishes the last four of Shakespeare's tragedies (*Timon*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Coriolanus*) as constituting a clearly defined tragic world different from the world of the tragedies of the middle period which begins with *Julius Caesar*. The distinctive feature of these tragedies is that they are concerned with "rare spirits deeply tainted." Whereas the protagonists of the middle tragedies are "imperfect heroic humanity," those of the final tragedies are "heroic imperfect humanity," persons so deeply flawed as provoke our disapproval at the same time that they excite our admiration. In searching out the "all absorbing tragic mystery" of this paradox, Shakespeare "occupies a country of the mind that may be called his tragic frontier." But because of the apparent contradiction inherent in the matter of these plays, this new frontier is artistically a risky terrain, "where the tragic emotions and the essential simplicity of the tragic understanding are in constant

danger of being overwhelmed by paradox." With *Coriolanus*, Shakespeare appears, according to Professor Farnham, to have crossed the boundary "by taking tragedy beyond the effective reach of merely human pity."

This general thesis is illustrated in the opening chapter by calling attention to the analogous plays of Chapman and Webster, and to the seventeenth century vogue for the debate of paradoxes. This brief preparation, however, merely establishes the fact that Shakespeare's preoccupation with paradoxes of conduct is not unique. Shakespeare's plays represent something more involved than these contemporary excursions into the enigma of the admirable and useful aspects of flawed humanity, and the bulk of the study is therefore devoted to separate discussions of the four plays. A conspicuous feature of these analyses is the comparison of the plays with their immediate sources and with such other materials as are a part of the contemporary treatment of a given story or theme. These are in every instance excellent—brief, clear, and instructively pointed. Special notice should be accorded the section dealing with witch and other folk lore as it has a bearing on the meaning of the weird sisters in *Macbeth*. It supplies in convenient compass the necessary information to render untenable the common view—made generally current through the school texts edited by the late Professor Kittredge—that the weird sisters are the fates in the person of the Norns. It is useful in itself at the same time that it is closely related to Professor Farnham's interpretation of the play. As much, however, cannot be said of some of the other discussions of a similar nature. It must be admitted that it is not always clear what essential purpose is served by the consideration of the matter which lies outside the plays. What Shakespeare did or failed to do with his sources, wherein he agrees or disagrees with the opinions of his contemporaries—these are, admittedly, often excellent clues to his own special emphasis; but this feature of the study, comprising nearly one half the book in bulk, seems out of proportion to an end so modest. It sometimes gives the impression, in fact, of having diverted the discussion from the pursuit of the thesis stated in the opening chapter.

The governing idea of this work raises important and interesting questions the answers to which cannot, finally, be found in the study of sources and analogues, however closely or illuminatingly pursued. It raises general questions about the nature of tragedy. It raises questions about the plays seen in relation to one another (for instance, in its preoccupation with the power of aggressive evil *Macbeth* suggests the "world" of the earlier tragedies when compared with *Antony and Cleopatra*). It puts a new emphasis on some of the traditional questions which have occupied students of these plays, for example, those features of Shakespeare's treatment which make possible our pity and even admiration for characters

we must condemn (the discussions of *Macbeth* and *Antony and Cleopatra* on this point seem to me inadequate and not wholly convincing). Not all the basic questions which the book seems provocatively to raise are clearly and explicitly formulated. And not many of them are discussed in sufficient detail to supply the kind of theoretical support which the discussion of the individual plays seems to demand. One has a feeling of divided effort in the book, and ends it with the regret that the important issues which it raises are never brought out and discussed with the fulness and depth of which one is convinced Professor Farnham is capable.

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*Memoirs of the Extraordinary Life, Works, and Discoveries of Martinus Scriblerus.* Edited by CHARLES KERBY-MILLER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. ix + 408. \$5.00.

Fifteen years ago L. M. Beattie expressed the need for an edition of the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus* that would clarify its countless allusions: "Certainly an edition with adequate annotations would disprove Dr. Johnson's statement that 'no man could be wiser, better, or merrier, by remembering it'" (*John Arbuthnot, Mathematician and Satirist*, 1935, p. 267). A heavily annotated edition has now been provided by Charles Kerby-Miller, whose initials follow the listing for John Arbuthnot in the *CBEL*; and Dr. Johnson is manifestly proved wrong. For there are large portions of wisdom and merriment in the chapters on Martinus's parentage and education, the puns of Crambe, the case of the pre-Freudian love-sick nobleman, the sect of Freethinkers, Martinus's remarkable Double Mistress, and the equally remarkable catalogue of his discoveries and works. It is for the sound text of the *Memoirs* in this edition, the first since the death of Pope to appear in entirety, that the reader is most grateful, especially if he has attempted to interest students in the work with only the scrappy version in W. A. Eddy's *Satires and Personal Writings by Jonathan Swift* (1933) before them. Has any other "well-known" brief work in English literature been less properly available, if at all?

Besides the text and notes Kerby-Miller provides a long Preface, intended to paint the background of the Scriblerus Club and the *Memoirs*. This is the only portion of the book to which real objection might be made: consideration of each of the Scriblerians

in turn, and from several points of view, is unavoidably repetitious. And there is no pretense of "new" discoveries. Material here is drawn from sources like Swift's *Correspondence* and *Journal*, Spence's *Anecdotes*, and Pope's *Works*—combined with what might be found in modern studies like L. M. Beattie's *John Arbuthnot*, W. H. Irving's *John Gay, Favorite of the Wits*, and R. J. Allen's *Clubs of Augustan London*. The distinction between members of the Scriblerus Club and the authors of the *Memoirs* is difficult to make. The *Memoirs* has been published, at least in part, among the works of Pope, of Arbuthnot, and of Swift. All three had their share in it. But the contribution of Parnell and Gay is less certain. Kerby-Miller perhaps reaches past what can be proved by insisting upon Oxford's hand in the *Memoirs*, mostly on basis of his receiving invitations to meetings, his collection of "mad" writings, and his interest in superstitions.

But in the Notes, which stick admirably to their job of explanation, little is conjectural. It is upon his elucidation of the text that Kerby-Miller has expended his chief labor, providing a vast amount of detailed information that adds immeasurably to the value of the edition. Rather than shirking the many difficulties, annotations are full to the extreme. Kerby-Miller's appended notes for each chapter of the *Memoirs* open with an extended essay like that for Chapter xvi ("Of the Secession of Martinus, and some Hint of his Travels"), which discusses the connection between Martinus's four "very extraordinary Voyages, into such very extraordinary Nations" and Swift's *Gulliver* (pp. 315-320). Then follow critical summaries, observations upon intellectual currents of the period, quotations, accounts of sources and influences, and a running (almost line-by-line) commentary. The method of identification and elucidation is not that of a mere biographical note or statement of definition, but an account of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century opinion on the subject at hand. Three notes and seventy-five lines of print are devoted to a single typical sentence from Chapter I: "He had already determin'd to set apart several annual Sums, for the recovery of *Manuscripts*, the effossion of *Coins*, the procuring of *Mummies*; and for all those curious discoveries by which he hoped to become (as himself was wont to say) a second *Peireskius*" (p. 97). Involved in Kerby-Miller's clarification of this sentence are references to Arbuthnot, Addison, Swift, Sir Andrew Fountaine, Earle, Butler, Dr. Woodward, Pope, Mrs. Centlivre, the Royal Society, the Duke of Norfolk, Ned Ward, John Kemp, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, E. Chambers, de Peiresc, the *Tatler*, *New View of London*, *British Curiosities*, *Memoirs for the Curious*, *Three Hours after Marriage*; and quotations from Pope's *Epistle to Addison* (8 lines), Blount's *Glossographia*, Bayle's *Dictionary*, Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence*, and Lister's *Journey to Pairs* (pp. 190-191). Such thick-

coming references do not strike the reader as display for its own sake: the display is too constantly interesting and illuminating; and it is hard to think of any pertinent matter that Kerby-Miller has not tracked down and presented in his notes. Clearly, if the *Memoirs* is to be read as a satire upon pedantry, it is desirable to know exactly what is being laughed at.

Patent errors in scholarship seem few. The questionable *Advice to a Young Poet* and *The Elephant, or the Parliament Man* are accepted as authentic works by Swift. There is a closer parody of *The Adventures of Lindamira* in the Double Mistress episode than the Notes bother to suggest. *Carteret* appears occasionally as *Cartaret* (pp. 326, 348, 390, 406).

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*Shaftesbury and the Deist Manifesto.* By ALFRED O. ALDRIDGE. Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, vol. 41, pt. 2; June, 1951. Pp. 297-385. \$1.50.

There is need for this book on Shaftesbury. The nineteenth century, one feels at times, might have moved right out of the seventeenth and is caricatured in consequence of the detour through the eighteenth; at other times one feels the nineteenth is the continuation of the eighteenth, both being divergent from the seventeenth. In each of these fancies Shaftesbury is likely to be a pivotal figure. This historical significance, as well as the importance of what he has to say and the way in which his manner pleases and annoys, makes him a chief instance of those who, if less than great, are more indicative.

There is need for an assembling and interpreting of Shaftesbury's theory and program. Mr. Aldridge tries this, and with some success. He is fair, comprehensive, and often helpful. Rubrics for classifying theories are, however, poor enough at best, and Mr. Aldridge is scarcely sharp enough with them or distrustful enough of them. Something of this weakness appears in the choice of the secondary part of the title: *The Deist Manifesto*. Its emphasis is not borne out in the book; indeed Mr. Aldridge does not always agree to accept Shaftesbury as a deist at all. To examine this inconsistency in only a small area: the first sentence of the last paragraph of Chapter I suggests that "scientific deism" and "humanistic deism" may be "incompatible"; but the last sentence of the paragraph concludes that, as an expression humanistic deism, "Shaftesbury's work is literally the manifesto of deism." It is



considered deistic because it shows the needlessness of revelation. Yet, the first sentence of Chapter II says, "To prove the existence of God without reference to Scripture is not in itself a sufficient manifesto of deism"; and the rest of the chapter deals no more with revelation, in terms of which deism has been defined. I do not mean there is necessary contradiction; but there is enough slipping sometimes to prevent the reader from being helped, except by being made to puzzle.

However, Mr. Aldridge is assuredly right, I think, in supporting the English-American "stoic" interpretation against the German "neoplatonic" one. Probably the fine-gentleman style is peculiarly difficult for foreign-language scholars.

The special need for Mr. Aldridge's book arises from the fact that Shaftesbury's writing is constantly, but not only, occasional and circumstantial. Shaftesbury did not defend enthusiasm; he ridiculed persecution of the "Camizar prophets" and urged ridicule as the proper antidote, especially for "gentlemen of property" like John Lacy who had joined the prophets. He opposed Francis Atterbury as Francis Atterbury and as a Tory and as a Hobbist, since he could see in the promises of heaven the "selfish theory." He not only opposed church influence in government as such; he opposed it as it was threatened by the "high-flyers." Personalities, dated polemic, and abstract theses are intertwined; and all in an atmosphere and a story of social and party politics. Whig and high church, Somers and Sacheverell, Hoadly and Tindal and Whitefield do not play their roles on the surface of the *Characteristics*. Here Mr. Aldridge is most helpful to us; and these facts, especially in their relation to Shaftesbury's busy theories, are not otherwise easy to get at.

Mr. Aldridge's most useful chapter may be "The Magistrate," in which these personal-political-religious-theoretical linkages are marshaled for Shaftesbury's doctrine of the state.

There is an interesting compilation of 224 references to Shaftesbury in the eighteenth century, a selected list of "contemporary works" on Shaftesbury; and an index.

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BRIEF MENTION

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*The Relations of Literature and Science: A Selected Bibliography 1930-1949.* Edited by FRED A. DUDLEY, *et al.* Pullman, Washington: Department of English of the State College of Washington, 1949. Pp. 59. This valuable compilation of more than six hundred references consolidates the mimeographed lists distributed annually to Group VII of MLA. Most of the entries are annotated by Dudley or his co-editors Norbert Fuerst, Francis R. Johnson, and H. H. Waggoner. Part I comprises general studies, Part II studies of Continental, English, and American "literary figures whose reactions to science have been more or less seriously studied." Philosophers and scientists who have influenced literature are not listed. A few items prior to 1930 are included.

Part I, beginning with the Middle Ages, lists books and articles on the relations of literature and astronomy, psychology, biology, medicine, and the like. In the section on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the impact of science on criticism and theories of criticism assumes importance. The section on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries includes references to science-fiction, the machine, and naturalism. The last division of Part I lumps together materials which are inclusive or non-chronological.

Part II offers sub-heads on more than two hundred writers. Shakespeare has 36 entries, Milton 22, Chaucer and Goethe 19, Poe 15, Donne 8, Whitman 5. The list is reasonably complete, but readers will wonder if the interest in Spenser, for example, is adequately represented by only two entries, the same number devoted to Henry Power, an insignificant disciple of Sir Thomas Browne. This consolidation should certainly have included such pieces as Hugh De Lacy's "Astrology in the Works of Edmund Spenser," *JEGP*, xxxiii (1934), 520-543, and Rosemond Tuve's "A Medieval Commonplace in Spenser's Cosmology," *SP*, xxx (1933), 133-147. Such oversights or errors in judgment are, however, almost inevitable in a selective compilation. One might in addition wish for more extensive treatment of major figures at the expense of minor, but coverage was no doubt a primary concern of the editors. The inexpensive format of this useful checklist recommends itself to scholars with comparable material.

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*Karlamagnús saga ok kappá hans*. BJARNI VILHJÁLMSSON bjó til prentunar. Reykjavík: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan, Haukadalsútgáfan, 1950. 3 vols. Ninety years ago the indefatigable Norwegian editor, R. C. Unger, brought out the first and—up to now—the only edition of this cycle of sagas dealing with Charlemagne: thirteenth century Norwegian translations of Anglo-French or Middle English romances as well as the Old French *Chansons de geste*. Unger's edition had a preface but no index.

The present edition is part of an ambitious publication, aiming to print in popular but reliable texts the whole body of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian (Old Norse) literature. Up to now it has published the Icelandic family sagas (*Íslendingasögur*) in thirteen volumes, *Sturlunga saga* in three volumes, *Biskupa sögur* and *Annálar* in four volumes each, the *Eddas* in four volumes, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda* (the Mythical-Heroic sagas) in four volumes, *Riddarasögur* (sagas of romances and chivalry) in three volumes, and the present work in three.

Like the other works in the series, *Karlamagnús saga* has a good popular introduction, indexes and a glossary of hard words. I should like to call the attention of Romance philologists to this unique index as well as to the saga itself, containing among other things the *Pelerinage de Charlemagne* as well as the famous story—even in Iceland—of Rollant in Rúnzival. I should also like to call their attention to the fact that, from now on, the edition will have practically nothing to publish but medieval romance, in which the matters of France, Rome and Greece, and the Orient will be well represented.

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**Erratum:** p. 412, line 25, *for bridge read bride*.

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